FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ROMANIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES CSCE WORKING GROUP

AU031117 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0910 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Madrid, 3 Feb (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor during the debates in the working group No. 1 of the Madrid conference on the application of the new principles of interstate relations enshrined in the Helsinki signed document, Romania's representative Ambassador Constantin Ene pointed to the need for the principles included in the Final Act to become norms of practical conduct for all the participating states. Romania considers that the current meeting of the CSCE participating states should reassess clearly and strongly the pledge of all the states signatory to the Final Act both in bilateral relations and in their relations with the other countries of the world, irrespective of their social system, development level, their belonging to military blocs or not. This is the indispensable premise and prerequisite for making any progress in detente, in achieving security and developing interstate cooperation.

The speaker pointed to the need for constructive efforts so that the initiatives advanced should be thoroughly examined in order to identify common viewpoints susceptible of being agreed upon and allowing the conclusion of the Madrid meeting with positive results through the adoption of a final document which should provide a solid basis of action for expanding collaboration and strengthening European security.

Next, Romania's representative extensively presented the importance and content of the two proposals Romania advanced on the strengthening of the principles in the Final Act--that is the elaboration of an all-European treaty on non-recourse to the threat and use of force and the convening of a meeting of experts to this end, and the ensurance of the right to work, education and culture.

Reviewing the main proposals other states advanced on this chapter of the Final Act, the speaker said that the Romanian delegation had a positive attitude as regards the objectives pursued by the proposals advanced by Yugoslavia and Spain on the overcoming of the present state of tension in international relations and the resumption and continuation of the detente policy.

Saying that the Romanian delegation also supported the proposal tabled by Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Finland and Sweden regarding the convening of a meeting of experts to the end of continuing the efforts towards the elaboration of a generally acceptable method of peacefully settling differences, the speaker pointed to Romania's consistent concerns in this respect, also expressed in Romania's initiative of including the question of peaceful settlement of interstate differences in the agenda of the UN General Assembly. Setting forth Romania's positive attitude as to the proposals made by Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the USSR regarding the inclusion of the principles of the Final Act in the international instruments guiding bi- and multilateral interstate relations, the speaker pointed out that the incorporation of these principles in the international documents Romania concluded was a current practice in the country's foreign policy, the most eloquent proof being the enshrinement of these norms of conduct in the documents signed at top level.

In conclusion, the Romanian ambassador stressed that taking into account the time passed since the beginning of the meeting, constructive efforts must be made and a sound working and cooperation atmosphere of respect for each country's stands and legitimate interests established so that elements that can provide a basis of understanding should be identified by joint efforts in the interest of the promotion of detente, cooperation and security in Europe and throughout the world.

ZERI I POPULLIT REACTION TO BEIJING TRIAL CITED

AU031301 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 3 Feb 81

["Another Expression of the Fierce Struggle for Power Between the Revisionist Clans in China"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 3 Feb (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an editorial, which reads:

A few days ago, the court trial against the so-called "Gang of Four" and the group of senior militarymen of the period of the Cultural Revolution ended in Beijing.

The preparations for this court trial which took place according to a scenario drafted with care, lasted four years, that is as early as October 1976 when the "gang of four" was arrested. This so long period of time is not linked with the "gathering of all the proofs," as the attorneys stated in Beijing, but with the fact that Deng Xiaoping and his group had it difficult to conduct this trial without firmly consolidating their positions and without thoroughly brainwashing the public opinion for a long period of time. Prior to the court trial, Deng undertook a broad wave of purges in the top leadership of the party and state, bringing to power his own men, the majority of whom had been overthrown and condemned previously.

In order to extend and strengthen the social basis of his power, along with other purges, he rehabilitated not only the entire cadres that had been attacked by the Cultural Revolution, but also many feudals, capitalists and counter-revolutionaries, who had been toppled after the triumph of the Chinese revolution. Those who had remained alive once again enjoyed their economic rights and privileges. Some of them were again put at the top of the factories they had had and various organs of the state power.

At the same time, Deng had to ensure also the support from abroad, which he found in the strengthening of the alliance with American imperialism and the economic aid in billions of dollars, big international capital accorded to him.

When all these broad and painful preparations concluded, Deng raised the curtain and the farce which was named by him "the court trial against the gang of four" began to be performed on the stage.

Beijing trial was not the trial of the alive, but of the dead

It clearly emerged from the press reports, from the prosecutor's charge and the long verdict of the court trial that through their attack against the "gang of four", Deng and his group aimed, in fact, at Mao Zedong. From the way how the court trial took place and from what it was said there, it turned out that this was not the trial of the alive, but of the dead, of Mao, Kang Sheng, etc.

The trial condemned the "gang of four" as criminal and not for the policy it had pursued. It was acted in this way, because if they had to act in another way, then they had to show which policy this "gang" had opposed. This is also the reason why the stage directors of the Beijing court trial did not give a political character to it, though the Cultural Revolution which they wanted to condemn had a political character.

The "gang of four" did not act outside the line of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Our party has expressed its opinion for this event, which was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural and nor proletarian, but a chaotic explosion, a palace putsch, which was led by non-Marxist elements to liquidate other anti-Marxist elements who had seized the power. As it was such, the Cultural Revolution witnessed strifes and clashes, repressions and abuses. But such things are not fewer in number in China today. Actually, numerous trials against various opponents of the group in power are taking place all over China. The economy, which has completely been put on the rails of capitalism, is in chaos. Production has fallen, whereas the dissatisfaction among the masses has increased.

Deng Xiaoping and company condemn Mao, but preserve Mao Zedong Thought, because it is the ideology of China's capitalist road

In the current trial, Deng Xiaoping and company refuted Mao from start to finish. Their words that he has had 70 per cent good things and 30 per cent evil ones are empty words, ordinary speculations and demagogy. They condemn Mao, but preserve Mao Zedong Thought, because it is the ideology of China's capitalist road and its ambition to become a superpower. In particular, Deng preserved from it that part where the bourgeois and capitalist ideas are more evident. Moreover, he preserves it to disguise in the people the total struggle he is waging against Mao Zedong, including even that important role Mao has played in the victory of the Chinese anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

Mao Zedong Thought is an anti-Marxist ideology. It has been and remains the ideology of all the groups and factions in China

Deng and his group continue to present Mao Zedong Thought as Marxism-Leninism. But this claim has no basis whatsoever, it is entirely absurd. The Party of Labour of Albania has exposed this bluff and has stressed that Mao Zedong Thought not only is not Marxism-Leninism, but is an anti-Marxist ideology. The speculations of the present-day Chinese leadership with the allegedly Marxist-Leninist content of Mao Zedong Thought aim at presenting as revolutionary their counterrevolutionary plans and activity within and outside the country.

Deng seeks to preserve Mao Zedong Thought because actually he has no other ideology in reserve, except for several pragmatist slogans, such as "The Four Modernisations", "The White Cat and the Black Cat" or some other thing of the kind. Mao Zedong Thought has been and remains the ideology of all the groups and factions in China. It is as the Chinese leaders themselves claim, the product of all, of Mao, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Liu Shaoqi. As it has been such, Mao Zedong Thought has become in China the banner of all the groups and factions and has served as a shield for every palace putsch.

The Beijing trial was a settling of accounts and a strife between the rival groups for power

On the whole, the trial was a settling of accounts and a strife between the rival groups for power.

In fact, two trials took place in Beijing: one open against the "Band of the Four" and the military group and one secret against Mao, Zhou, Ye and Hua.

The open trial might proceed according to Deng's orchestration, but the secret one was very difficult, because it represented major rivalries in the fold of the actual leadership.

These rivalries implicate not only several persons, but whole million-strong groups, various policies in various periods, endangered particular interests for power, ambitions formulated or not of many groups in chaotic and unprincipled struggle for domination, numerous groups of militarymen-"moderr warlords", groups which want and approve Mao, as well as those who condemn him. For several problems, Ye's group is in accord with Hua against Deng, Hua's groups are pro-Mao and against Deng, Deng's group is against Mao, Ye and Hua and pro-Liu, allegedly pro-Zhou and finally there is the group of younger people whom Deng pushes ahead, but who strive to establish their power.

"The One Hundred Flowers and One Hundred Schools" of Mao Zedong are in blossom, in development and in struggle. Mao had correctly forseen that his eclectic ideas would be used both by the rightists and the leftists.

Hua Guofeng is the "Black Cat" for Deng

The procedure of the trial clearly revealed that Deng wanted to attack also Hua Guofeng and his cohorts, precisely those people who overthrew the "Gang of the Four" and rehabilitated him himself. He wanted to deprive Hua of the right to pose as an heir chosen by Mao himself and as the authentic interpreter of Mao Zedong Thought. But now he wanted to do this not by cutting the heads as the old emperors did, but on the basis of the law, discrediting them in the first place politically. In this way, he shows both mercy for Hua for the aid he gave him and creates a "democratic image" for himself, which is liked both from America and the West, which pose as the "defenders of human rights."

Hua is the Black Cat" for Deng. The latter resorts to the known Chinese tactics, inciting this or that say "that Hua was liquidated, that he resigned". The opinion, is prepared, the pulse is sounded out both at home and abroad.

The Chinese leaders are cat's paws of world imperialism

Hua Guofeng poses as a moderate, integral Maoist, while Deng a reactionary, fascist, anti-Maoist revenger. Hua stands for "friendship" with Japan and United Europe, while Deng is pro-American, warmonger and for the occupation of the countries of Southeast Asia. Who will win: having them in power, neither China, nor the revolution, nor genuine peace will triumph. These leaders who represent Chinese hegemonism will be cat's paws of world imperialism.

The socalled plot of the militarymen to assassinate Mao remained in darkness

One of the targets of the trial was the army. Condemning the main commanders of the period of the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping aimed at further reducing the political power of the army, at diminishing its weight in the political decisions of the top leadership and generally speaking, in the country's life. In order to avoid the reaction by the staffs, especially of the corps of officers, he accused the former generals of having wanted to assassinate Mao, precisely the one who defended the privileges of the militarymen and who had made the army the decisive political force at home, a force which had more weight than the party and state power themselves.

But the calculations reckoned at the beginning do not always come true at the end. The socalled plot of the militarymen to assassinate Mao remained in darkness.

The targets the court has set to itself came to no end

The targets the court has set to itself came to no end. The clan of Hua Guofeng, though very weak in the high forums of the party, a power and army continues to enjoy the support of those dozens of thousands of millions of middle and low cadres elevated by the Cultural Revolution, who feel, realize and see that the purge Deng has begun on the top levels of the Chinese hierarchy will be done in the low levels, too, and will bring them out. The militarymen feel the same thing. After the senior chiefs, the turn comes to those who are below. Under these conditions, it is difficult to think that the Chinese army, due to its militarist traditions, will allow that its political power be corroded bit by bit and shut itself in the barracks. Moreover, this is impossible also for the fact that the present policy of the Chinese leadership has as its first objective the modernization of the army and its transformation into a big striking force as those of the superpowers. The construction of big industrial-military complexes assign a role of first rate importance to the army in the whole economic, political and social life of the country.

From what the XINHUA Agency has released and the images of the Chinese TV, Mao's widow not only did not bow her head, but openly attacked and described those who judged her as revisionist clique, traitors and agents of Kuomintang

The feeling of revenge, not only political, but personal one too, was seen in the attempts of the judges and the great campaign of the Chinese press to describe the accused as ordinary criminals, as adventurers. All batteries were directed especially against Jiang Qing. But this objective, too, was not achieved. From what the XINHUA Agency has released and the images of the Chinese TV, Mao's widow not only did not bow her head, but openly attacked and described those who judged her as revisionist clique, traitors and agents of Kuomintang. The people watched over the TV not a subdued and repented person, but the arbitrariness of the judges, who did not leave her speak and the brutality of the police, who tightened the shackles and forcefully brought her out of the hall.

The postponement for the implementation of the death sentence for Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao as well as the previous hesitation with regard to the organisation of the trial bring into evidence that powers of various political forces always operate in China, that the hands of Deng are not yet fully free to act as he likes

According to the verdict of the trial death sentences were passed only on Jiang Qing and Zhang Cunjqiao, but a period of two year repentence has been left to them to save their souls. The others, in particular the militarymen, according to the charges, received relatively not as harsh punishments. In the first view, it seems as if this is a Chinese tradition, but in reality, the postponement for the implementation of the verdict as well as the previous hesitation with regard to the organisation of the trial bring into evidence that powers of various political forces always operate in China, that the hands of Deng are not yet fully free to act as he likes.

The Beijing trial was a self-exposure of the Chinese revisionists

The Beijing court trial was a self-exposure of the Chinese revisionists, because it further brought to light the whole rottenness of the capitalist political system and of the bourgeois ideological basis which has existed in China. The chaos, the grave situation and crimes, about which the present team in power blames only the Cultural Revolution and the persons who launched and directed it, without saving even dead Mao, are the result of the counterrevolutionary course and the capitalist road China has pursued.

Since its liberation to nowadays, China, which is almost a continent, has found no stability and has failed to build a stable political-economic and state-organizational structure of whatever nature it could be.

At the beginning it was adopted the slogan of "a new democracy" which later on was baptized "socialism" and even "dictatorship of the proletariat", but in reality the structure of the new Chinese state has been and remains a pseudo-bourgeois structure. In practice, there were not displayed efforts to renovate these structures, because the political and ideological clarity which has to guide these transformations, lacked. Since 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded to nowadays, the Chinese leaders that not only have not been and are not Marxist-Leninists, but their aims too, for the development of the country and economy on the bourgeois-capitalist road has been and are unclear. The fight went on with formulas and quotations, the grounds and systems were sounded out, they were concentrated nowhere and sought to present themselves for what they were not. China has always lived from day to day.

The rivalries between various groups which were fighting for power, for domination, were taking place in this fog, in this political-ideological unclarity. Each one of the groups or individuals had its or his unclear, indefinite road, but the feeling of revenge, and toppling of one another was predominant in all. This road is followed also today. The group of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai was firmly swimming in these waters. But irrespective of this, it was the most positive group which sought and did something lame, for China, but it did something for her. [as received]

The Liu Shaoqi group was the most reactionary and, at present, Deng group has passed onto pseudo-fascism, into ultrareaction.

Present-day China is on the crossroad. It lives in chaos, anarchy, undertainty

At present, Deng with his group seems to be in the first boxes, receives and sees people off, holds speeches and makes threats. The result: China is being discredited both internally and externally. All have dounts on it. Its economy, recovered by Mao and Zhou Enlai, is almost ruined. The present leadership lies shifting the blame on "The Gang of Four".

Present-day China is on the crossroad. It lives in chaos, anarchy and uncertainty. Each step the actual leaders take is not only pragmatist, but also according to the passing circumstances in the internal and external situation. This is an unprincipled, anachronistic, feudal, prepotent policy. It lies to nobody when it pretends to the "democratic" and less "socialist".

If we may use a literary figure, China resembles a great old house, without sound foundations, built without a plan and structure. Every political earthquake brings down whole large fragments of it. The builders who come to repair it are worse and destroy it badly.

> The Chinese "big state" megalomania
> does not weigh in the actual world policy,
> Neither America, nor the reactionary bourgeoisie,
> fear China today. The Soviet Union fears
> more Lech Walesa than Deng Xiaoping.

The Chinese "big state" megalomania does not weigh in the actual world policy and the ideas of Deng and Hua cannot triumph. Imperialism and hegemonism, be it American, Soviet, Chinese or of the other developed capitalist powers are hated and combatted by the peoples of the world.

This is the century of great crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, this is the century of the liberation struggles and the revolutions.

Its external enemies seek to plunder China making more investments for profits for themselves. Doubt and distrust in China prevails in them. China itself makes neither head not tail of its situation. Chaos for the enemies of the Chinese people is desirable. Neither America, nor the reactionary bourgeoisie, fear China today. The Soviet Union fears more Lech Walesa than Deng Xiaoping.

This situation was reflected and proved by the Beijing trial. Deng's and Hua's group condemned the "Gang of the Four" and the group of militarymen allegedly as "ordinary criminals and plotters". But in reality they condemned all the policy and the economic-state system of China since its liberation to nowadays. And who are those who condemned this system? It is they who built it and who aim at repairing it monstrously and in even more catastrophic directions for China.

> The Beijing trial does not put an end to
> the strife between the clans.

Although the Beijing trial seems that it put an end to a chapter in the strife for power in China, in reality, it does not put an end to this struggle between the clans, does not eliminate the internal political enmities and splits in that country. It further instigates them and creates new conditions for their further sharpening. Just as the Cultural Revolution laid the foundations for the current struggle between the clans, the trial of the "Gang of Four" lays the foundations for struggle between new clans, which at times will unite and at other times will divide, and at other times will kill one another. One group will rise in power and another will be overthrown. The latter will hatch up plots to topple the former till the Chinese people will become conscious and put an end to "chaos" which had been preached by Mao Zedong.

Now the capitalist rubbish is wrapping round China. But this is condemned by history. China of the revolutionary youth cannot be subdued by the scum that has risen to bring about the destruction of those victories the Chinese people had achieved by now.

We, Marxist-Leninists and all the progressive people in the world nurture the hope and want that revolutionary China break the great chaos in which its internal and external enemies have induced it, with its chest [as received].

KOSOVO SCIENCE DELEGATION TO DISCUSS MUTUAL PLANS

Deputy Premier Receives Delegation

AU031337 Tirana ATA in English 1045 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Tirana, 3 Feb (ATA)--The vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Manush Myftiu received the delegation of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo headed by the chairman of this academy Prof. Idriz Ajeti, yesterday.

Present at the reception were the President of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Prof. Aleks Buda, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile and the scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Prof Luan Omari.

Also present was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Branko Komatina.

Protocol on Science Signed

AU031341 Tirana ATA in English 1100 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Tirana, 3 Feb (ATA)--The protocol of research scientific cooperation between the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo for the year 1981-1982, was signed.

The protocol was signed by the scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Luan Omari, and by the general secretary of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, Prof. Syrja Pupovci.

Attending the ceremony of the signing of the protocol were the President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania Prof. Aleks Buda, the Chairman of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo Prof. Idriz Ajeti and others.

Also present was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the PSR of Albania, Branko Komatina.

After the signing of the protocol, the President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania Prof. Aleks Buda gave a luncheon, which proceeded in a warm and fraternal atmosphere.

Attending the luncheon was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Branko Komatina.

KOSOVO ECONOMIC OFFICIALS LEAVE FOR HOME

AU030834 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 81

[Text] Riza Sapundzija, vice president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Saljajdin Jadrasi, provincial secretary for the economy, left for Kosovo on 2 February. They were bid farewell by Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and other comrades.

BRIEFS

DELEGATION'S RETURN--The delegation of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions led by Farije Salicaj, the council's secretary, returned from the FRG where it attended the Eighth Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Germany. The delegation was welcomed by Idriz Dhrami, secretary of the Central Council of Albania trade unions. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Jan 81 AU]

BCP DAILY COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S FIRST MOVES

AU021914 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jan 81 p 4

[Yoan Mateev's commentary: "Decisiveness Should Not Be Confused With Adventurism"]

[Text] The Republican administration's behavior in its first 10 days coincides fully with the behavior of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid meeting.

The first act of the President, which was quickly reported by the Western press agencies, was the decision to "drastically decrease" expenditures for...the administration's stationery. Expenditures for official trips, consultations, analyses and so forth, have been decreased 15 percent and it has been recommended "avoiding" extravagant furnishings in offices. The same order, obviously in order to avoid any wrong interpretation of the direction that the "fight against inflation will follow," states that all the aforementioned provisions do not apply to military travel.

Immediately afterward the press agencies reported the following items:

--Secretary of Defense Weinberger stated to the Senate Armed Forces Committee that the United States will "decisively increase its armament."

--General Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, demanded a quick increase in nuclear and conventional weapons.

--General Curry, spokesman for the Pentagon, stated that next year's record military budget will be increased.

In addition to all this, several "authoritative reports" are now circulating in Washington. They include advice for the administration, and their authors--mostly eminent members of the military-industrial complex--demand a long list of measures all aimed at further complicating the relations between the United States and the USSR, without paying much attention to reality and the contemporary world's need for sober thinking.

Amid this completely militaristic and hegemonistic excitment one can also hear the declarations of Washington's most responsible officials--Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and President Reagan himself, made at widely publicized press conferences and accompanied by the "greatest and most comprehensive" maneuvers of the U.S. Strategic Air Command. The declarations are now being presented by the U.S. propaganda machine as the "firmest and most decisive" statements of U.S. leading figures related to real socialism. However, their tone, choice of words and the meaning of some of their passages do not bring credit to their authors and do not present them as determined political figures, conscious of their high responsibilities. These statements forced the AFP correspondent in Washington to declare that they surpass similar precedents of the "cold war's" worst years. The statements evoke the suspicion that Washington's new administration is taking a step toward a great danger--confusing national determination with adventurism.

DPRK GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ARRIVES IN SOFIA

AU040931 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 81

[Text] A DPRK Government-economic delegation led by Kye Ung-tae, Korean Workers Party [KWP] Politburo Committee member and vice premier, arrive in Bulgaria today to attend the 11th session of the intergovernmental consultative commission for economic and scientific-technical matters. At Sofia airport, the delegation was met by Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEWS SOLIDARITY MEMBERS

AU031941 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 81 p 6

[Article by Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky: "Once Again in the Katowice Area; Visit of Poland's Giant Industrial Center"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The oppressive, tense atmosphere prevailing throughout Poland has not passed by the Katowice area, the country's most industrialized part. When I arrived there "someone" had just shattered the front window of a record store on Katowice's Mylnska Street. Surrounding walls sported leaflets containing the ultimatums that Walesa's trade unions are dictating to the government. Passersby were coming to a stop and linking the broken shopwindow with the "hooligans from 'Solidarity'."

In the daily TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA we read an article by Ewa Wanacka entitled "What Does Solidarity Mean." The author writes: "When the word solidarity is becoming an instrument of moral terror and political manipulation, when the activities carried out under that slogan are aimed at the foundations of national existence--then it is clear that sooner or later the workers class itself will unmask that slogan."

Ewa Wanacka received threatening anonymous letters and telephone calls designed to intimidate her. The same applies to Waldemar Wasilewski, Maria Kujawowa-Szymonowiczowa, and other Katowice journalists who publicly and fearlessly speak out against the license of some functionaries of Walesa's trade unions and their "order-enforcement units," which are frequently made up of boys who have scarcely outgrown school age and display a considerable degree of fanaticism. "Democrats" and "apolitical trade unionists" are calling the director of Katowice television at night, asking him "from which tree he would like to be hanged." That, merely because he dared to broadcast the standpoints of Katowice citizens condemning the violent methods employed by various extremists and expressing their outrage over attempts to terrorize public life.

The voivodship party committee registered in the fall alone more than 40 instances of violating public order. Apart from that, "Solidarity" provoked a strike against the miners' union's congress. A severe instance of violating public order was attempted sabotage at the Petrowski mine, which was to be set on fire. In the name of "Solidarity," several dozen new, already allocated apartments were unlawfully occupied in Sosnowiec, to say nothing of the distribution of leaflets vilifying state and party bodies.

Prior to 24 January several leaders from Walesa's Gdansk staff came to Katowice to select, together with local "Solidarity" functionaries, the enterprises that were to boycott the working Saturday. The boycott was also ensured in "organizational" terms. Those in charge of maintaining "order" physically barred those who wanted to respect the government's standpoint from turning up at work. When there was no other way, they destroyed the work clothes of the "disobedient ones," turned off electricity in the workshops and so forth. And those who did not let themselves be intimidated--especially communists who took to heart the appeal of the Katowice party organization leadership to work the Saturday shift--are now on the "blacklists" of Walesa's trade unions. In some enterprises the methods of blackmail and intimidation go so far that name lists are being posted with the following text: "CAUTION: THOSE WHO DO NOT BELONG TO US!"

This is taking place in the days of the 36th anniversary of Katowice's liberation by the Soviet Army. World War II veterans are asking in public: Is this what we were shedding blood for?

We hear from friends that not everyone in "Solidarity" takes adventurous, anarchist and antisocialist positions. The number is increasing of those who are beginning to see that "Solidarity" is being manipulated from without and within by class enemies of People's Poland, chiefly by the antistate KOR organization. That was also realized by Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, former chairman of "Solidarity's" Jastrzebie branch, who publicly declared that he no longer wants to have anything in common with Walesa's organization. It is also known by other PZPR members who have become--because of their political membership--targets of unscrupulous attacks, slanders and threats. They begin to see that the proclaimed "apolitical" character of that organization is merely a mask, behind which a tenacious and unmerciful political struggle for positions and influence is being waged, a political struggle against the country's constitutional organs; exactly in keeping with KOR's program.

Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz was joined on 28 January on the pages of the newspaper TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA by Kazimierz Aniszewski, member of "Solidarity" in the Szopienice nonferrous metallurgical plant, who cannot reconcile himself with the fact that some "Solidarity" functionaries trample underfoot fundamental legal regulations and laws and that some organizations of those so-called independent trade unions are headed, as he writes, by "INCOMPETENT PEOPLE, WHO HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE HARD WORK OF A METALLURGIST AND ASSIGN TO TRUE EXPERTS, RANKING EMPLOYEES THE ROLE OF MESSENGER BOYS AND SNOTNOSES."

Aniszewski sees in it a lack of respect, tact and basic education. He regards it as absurd when the chairman of their "Solidarity" declares that in the course of the past months the government has done nothing to implement the agreements.

I paid a visit to the headquarters of the Jastrzebie "Solidarity." The phones were constantly ringing and Deputy Chairman Stefan Palka, who I had already met there last November (see RUDE PRAVO of 2 December 1980), repeatedly shouted into the telephone: "No more strikes; the directive from Gdansk is clear. Only if the government does not renew the talks by 3 February; then there will be a general strike in the whole country between noon and one in the afternoon..."

When the call was over, I asked him: "Is that an ultimatum, Mr Palka?"

Palka shrugged his shoulders. I was not convinced at that moment that he believed in the correctness of the Gdansk decision.

"Where is Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz now, your former chairman?" I asked next.

"I have no idea. He is no longer chairman."

"What did he do to you?"

In his answer I heard everything conceivable, including obvious slanders and invectives. One of the reprimands was that he used to go to the voivodship party committee! After all, as a PZPR member he was fully entitled to do so.

We failed to reach an agreement. My partners in the discussion continued to insist on their opinion. As though they felt that someone was listening behind the door.

Nevertheless, we carried on our discussion. As if they heard what I was thinking, Jerzy Adamkiewicz hurried to explain:

"We are not extremists..."

"It is possible that you are not," I retort, "but others are.... People are being intimidated to prevent them from going to work. They are being threatened because of their views and so forth."

"That happens, deplorably, but we in the leadership disagree with that. We have nothing in common with that. It happens because our management machinery is not functioning yet."

"I can thus conclude," I answered, "that these extremists and people with explictly antisocialist plans can pass in elections."

"What do we know. They are not getting any votes..."

"But let us concede that some of them pass, that they get elected in spite of everything..."

"Then we will do everything to exclude them from our movement."

"And do you not think that the extremist, antisocialist attitudes of some of your members have been shaped by KOR?"

"To tell the truth, we cannot rule that out, but in our leadership there is not a single KOR member."

"Why, then, do you not dissociate yourselves publicly from the so-called KOR?" I ask.

A graveyard silence set in. They exchanged glances and then I heard:

"Kuron is no idol for us. Neither is Walesa, because if he did not have all the advisers and experts around him he would not be what he is."

"With whom, in fact, do you want to cooperate? After all, now you are all alone, against everyone and everything..."

"That is not true. We want to cooperate with everyone who wishes Poland well."

"Wait a second, that is not clear--with everyone. Be specific, with whom do you want to cooperate? Does that include the party? The PZPR voivodship committee?"

"Certainly, why not?"

(A. Zabinski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship organization, said in an interview for the weekly POLITYKA among other things: "Our relations with Solidarity are not developing badly, even though there are differences. Miners from Jastrzebie and Bytom want to talk with us, whereas the Katowice Solidarity adopted an official resolution forbidding contact with the party. But our doors are open to anyone.")

"And wherein do you want to cooperate?" I ask.

"In solving the crisis in the country, all our honest members are ready for that."

"But so far..."

"We repeat once again: We have not been inciting any extremist actions."

"Who among you then is backballing party members?"

"We in the leadership are not doing that."

"But you are passive onlookers."

"That happens, deplorably, but write that from now on we will mercilessly settle accounts with the perpetrators in such cases. They cannot have a place in our ranks. And if they are hiding behind our banner, we will drive them out nevertheless."

"I have heard that some people from the Gdansk Solidarity came here, organized beneath your windows order-enforcement units, selected enterprises that were to strike, and so forth."

"We know about it. It is at variance with our position and conviction and inconsistent with the agreement concluded in Jastrzebie. We must establish order in that."

I could not get rid of the impression that those I was talking to do not have developments under control within the organization they lead. In November I was told by Stefan Palka, who is now deputy chairman of Solidarity in Jastrzebie: "If we excluded from our ranks PZPR members, then we would be a political organization." The reality is such, however, that a number of party members were forced by various intrigues to leave the ranks of Solidarity.

And, finally, if the leadership of the Jastrzebie Solidarity really had the situation firmly in hand, the occurance of other instances of license, violence, anarchy and explicitly antisocialist actions organized by some groups within that organization would be impossible.

Solidarity's 'Risky Game'

LD032010 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Excerpts] Will the results of the Polish Government's talks last Friday and Saturday with leaders of the so-called Independent Trade Unions Solidarity bring about calm in the country and the return of constructive work? This will hardly be the case. The situation in Poland is still characterized by anarchy and artificially nourished chaos.

It is now quite clear that Solidarity's leaders, including Walesa, are guided by [word indistinct] tactic. They are interested in maintaining and stepping up tension in the country in order to enforce further demands. These include not only such problematic and highly unfounded demands as free Saturdays or shorter working hours, for Solidarity leaders have begun to put forward clearly political demands. They maintain at the same time that Solidarity is a nonpolitical organization. These political demands include, in the first place, efforts to register a Solidarity organization associating private farmers, evidently a move directed against the economic foundation of socialism in Poland.

A much more serious [word indistinct] is the Solidarity (?leaders') activity of [few words indistinct] leadership of the PZPR and the Polish state. The Solidarity leaders are resorting to diktat and (?brusque) pressure. They dictate their demands which often are plainly unrealistic and designed to deepen the country's economic and political destabilization. They don't commit themselves to anything and are avoiding the assumption of responsibility for the fate of Polish society, for helping to take the country out of its grave crisis. Today they are still negotiating with the government, but tomorrow they would like to rule by themselves.

Such is the tactic and such are the aims of leaders of the so-called Independent Trade Unions Solidarity. It's a hazardous game in which the fate of Poland, the (?calm) life of its people and security in Europe are at stake.

It's a risky game blessed by the enemies of socialism in the West, especially Washington, and the pope himself. All indications are that concessions forced out by Solidarity from the government only deepen the crisis in the country [few words indistinct]. At the maximum the Solidarity leadership is gaining breathing space for a further stepping up of actions designed to bury socialism in Poland.

TU'S 'MANIPULATING' PUBLIC OPINION

LD031526 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Frantisek Sojka, our Warsaw correspondent, reports on a case which shows how the Walesa trade unions are manipulating public opinion.

[Sojka] When Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, appeared on Polish television recently, he raised, among other things, a question about the aims pursued by the representatives of the Maxowsze regional leadership of Solidarity, who are organizing (?lists) and a so-called assessment of leading officials in the economy and the party and state apparatus. The Secretariat of the National Coordinating Commission of Solidarity immediately hastened to state that following an agreement with the Solidarity Presidium in Maxowsze, it deemed it necessary to explain that Comrade Olszowski's words were not based on the truth. Without batting an eye, so to speak, Solidarity literally denied something as plain as the nose on one's face and accused others of spreading misleading information.

TRYBUNA LUDU carried unequivocal proof of this today. It published a sample of a questionnaire sent by Solidarity to all its organizations. The questionnaire has, among other things, 10 columns; it says at the outset that the aim of the questionnaire is to create a kind of data bank that would provide information about directors and their deputies, leading economic officials, secretaries of the voivodship party committees and chairman of the primary organizations of the PZPR, officials working in the state apparatus and persons working in the judiciary and persecutor's offices.

It has thus been possible to convince the Polish public about the dual game in which some representatives of the so-called Walesa trade unions are engaged. About the fact that they are pur suing all interests except those of the trade union, and, at the same time, that they do not stop short of blackmail, pressure and slanderous accusations of those who have pointed out their dubious tactics.

Government No Longer Tolerant

AU021937 Prague PRACE in Czech 31 Jan 81 p 2

[J. Hromadko article: "Where Have the Working People's Interests Remained?"]

[Text] The situation in the Polish People's Republic is still very tense, in spite of the fact that party and government efforts are aimed at eliminating the deep social and economic crisis. The path of dialogue has been chosen to solve the emerged problems; the government talks with the representatives of trade union organizations were meant to establish prerequisites for success--provided, of course, that honest work and the endeavor both to make up for the economic losses caused and also to establish conditions for improving the living conditions of the broad working people's strata represented the most significant contribution to the solution.

However, after the events of the last few weeks it has now become even more obvious that the activities pursued by the bosses of the so-called independent Solidarity trade unions--activities strikingly different from the promises made during the negotiations with the government we mentioned above--are contributing decisively to the continued existence of chaos and tension in Poland.

Instead of supporting efforts to speedily compensate for the national economy losses caused by the strikes, the Solidarity bosses this year are again orienting themselves toward pressure campaigns that hamper production rhythm. Ultimatums, strikes, extortions and violent obstacles erected for those workers who have correctly grasped the purport of the government resolution on the necessary gradual reduction of working hours and who have fully endorsed it--this is the present balance of the "defense of the working people's interests" which Solidarity is allegedly pursuing.

Instead of efforts for peace, order and productive work--all of which Poland greatly needs today--the country is harvesting further moral and material losses, for which these destructive activities are to blame. The fact is that, according to the Polish Government's statement this Thursday, the consequences caused in plants by absence from work on the last two Saturdays--provoked by Solidarity--have cost People's Poland 8 billion zloty. And the losses caused by strikes, by reduced productivity and the drop in discipline in production enterprises are growing every day.

Thus it is no wonder that the Polish working people, as well as the rank-and-file Solidarity members, are starting to ask whose interests this organization is actually defending. As the Polish press writes, an increasing number of people are beginning to doubt the purely "trade-union" intentions of the Solidarity bosses; and an increasing number of working people are turning their backs on the bosses. This fact is also noted by the Western press; but, of course, in a different and alarming form.

Most peculiar methods reign in Solidarity. They were pointed out to the public a few days ago, in an open letter by J. Sienkiewicz, chairman of one of the three largest regional Solidarity organizations, who until recently was head of the interfactory committee in Jastrzebie, a Katowice mining area. In the letter the public received even more evidence that the Solidarity bosses are pursuing an antidemocratic, antiparty policy and that PZPR members are the first targets of attacks. In his letter, which was published by all communications media, J. Sienkiewicz states that he was being rebuked for being a party member and for publicly proclaiming it (!) The problem cropped up when the members of Solidarity's leadership stepped up their contacts with the so-called Workers Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR) and with another antistate organization--the ODISS, [Research and Publications Center of the new ZNAK group], which operates underground. "As a party member I was unacceptable; I resigned from my position," J. Sienkiewicz writes, "the same as did several other members of the expanded Presidium." The letter recalls how the pressure activity of those who wanted to expell all PZPR members from the leadership of Solidarity's interfactory committee had recently increased.

The open letter of a former Solidarity representative in an area where the organization has had a strong base from the very beginning proves anew how far that organization has strayed from the working people's interests. In the foreground stand other interests, the stage-management of which must obviously be sought beyond the borders of People's Poland. An increasing number of observers agree that the main purpose of the Solidarity bosses' game is to further provoke unrest and to prolong and escalate the tense situation, all of which would repeatedly raise as the main question "who will in fact rule in Poland in the future?"--and not "when will a truly effective rectification of damages start"

The Polish daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI was right a few days ago in calling the new wave of strikes and sabotage of working Saturdays provoked by the Solidarity leadership an activity against all commonsense.

Thus it is no wonder that the Polish Government is no longer willing to tolerate further threats to the process of socialist renewal. Its effort to stabilize the situation in the country is being sabotaged. The working people are the first who will pay for it.

That is why, in its Thursday statement, Poland's Council of Ministers stressed its duty to ensure order and discipline and to establish conditions for the citizens' normal life. At the same time it confirmed its preparedness to continue negotiations on the reduction of working hours and on other problems concerning the trade union movement. The government wishes to arrange relations with the trade union movement on the basis of mutual co-responsibility for the country, and irrevocably insists on implementation of the August agreements and on the continuation of socialist renewal.

PRAVDA URGES ENHANCED TRADE UNION EFFORTS

AU031539 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Feb 81 p 1

[Editorial article by Otto Monchan, Slovak Trade Union Council--STUC--Secretary: "To Increase Trade Unions' Efforts"]

[Excerpts] We are steering all trade union bodies and organizations in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] toward balancing and analyzing their own political-organizational and educational work, toward improving the trade union's economic function, with the active participation of a broad circle of their members; and--on that basis--toward doing everything to enable the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM] to better and better fulfill its basic and irreplaceable role in implementing the working people's rights and interests, in solving all-social tasks, as well as in making decisions on all matters of socioeconomic development and enhancing the efficiency and quality of work. This is a demanding, but feasible path in creatively fulfilling the trade unions' basic functions in the political system of the socialist society. We realize that--as was stressed by the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session--the imperative need to enhance the trade union movement's efficiency demands that we improve the work of all its bodies, organizations, functionaries and members. We are concerned here with making the cooperation of trade union, state and economic bodies more consistent in managing and developing production, in political-organizational and educational work, as well as in developing more comprehensive care for the working people. Our many years of cooperation with the SSR Government, the ministries and national committees, have been based on these principles. In further perfecting and improving this cooperation, we proceed from the mission of socialist trade unions as formulated by V.I. Lenin: "The trade unions are the closest and irreplaceable collaborator with state power."

On 1 January 1981 we began implementing the set of measures for improving the planned management system of the national economy. According to the set of measures, further deepening and improving the working people's participation in the management of enterprises and economic production units is an inseparable part of improving production management.

Today, when the phase of having the working people participate in elaborating the plan is already behind us, we must state that we did not utilize this period for preparing the people for plan fulfillment in the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Because the overwhelming majority of working people took no part in elaborating the plan, no forces were mobilized for uncovering the reserves and for formulating more demanding tasks in the fields of quality, thriftiness of the production process, or technical standards and utility qualities, as followed from the directive for compiling the draft plan for 1981. We did not succeed in fulfilling one of the basic conditions of the set of measures--to win over the working people to create counterplans. Their initiative, suggestions and ideas have not been utilized for making use of resources for increasing production and improving effectiveness and quality. Our trade union bodies and basic organizations are also to blame for this.

The insufficient participation of working people in elaborating the executive plan for 1981 multiplies the demands set for economic and trade union bodies now and in the days to come. We demand that economic bodies, together with the RTUM bodies and organizations, discuss the tasks with working collectives and individuals, and that the working people support the realization of the tasks by developing initiatives in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of the CPCZ's foundation, and also through collective contracts for 1981.

The main tasks in the period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress, approved by the 10th Central Trade Union Council session, are a binding directive for our work now and in the coming days, weeks and months. They formulate the specific forms, methods and course of trade union bodies and basic organizations in involving all working people in solving specific tasks and in implementing the CPCZ's strategic line in further developing the economy and all-round care for the working people.

The STUC has voiced support for the executive plan of national economy development in 1981. A l RTUM bodies and organizations will be taking part in fulfilling it.

At the 11th STUC session, we instructed the Slovak committees of trade unions, the regional trade union councils and the Bratislava trade union council to adopt, in close cooperation with the ministries, central bodies of the state administration, general managers offices and national committees, measures that would create the best possible conditions for organizing the working people's participation in production management, in enhancing the economic and educational functions and in developing initiative in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

CTK CORRESPONDENT VIEWS U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

LD032154 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] New York, 3 Feb (CETEKA correspondent)--Judging by the strong words addressed to the Soviet Union by President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig at their press conferences last week, the development of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union does not have a good start under the Reagan administration.

Especially Reagan's attacks on the Soviet Union which, he asserted, is trying to incite "world revolution" and gain world hegemony was reminiscent of the cold-war language of John Foster Dulles. The same applies to Haig's accusations that the Soviet Union supports "international terrorism". He meant, as State Department officials specified later, Soviet support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and Soviet assistance to national liberation fronts.

While American right-wing forces have received the new line with great satisfaction, sober-minded political observers, including those who expected a change in U.S. policy to the Soviet Union, have been surprised by the sharpness of Reagan's and Haig's attacks. Some of them even voiced concern that similar rhetoric might exasperate U.S. West European allies who take an interest in the preservation of detente, and cause disapproval in a number of developing countries with which the U.S. is anxious to keep contacts.

American advocates of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty have also voiced concern that Reagan's attacks might thwart any chance for resumption of disarmament negotiations.

Observers agree that for the time being it is impossible to say whether corresponding actions will now follow the sharp words. Some believe that Reagan and Haig used the strong anti-communist rhetoric to pacify their right-wing followers dissatisfied that a large number of posts in the new administration was given to "moderates".

According to this view Reagan chose the strong language in order not to be accused of weakness. It thus cannot be ruled out that Reagan's policy will be similar to that of Richard Nixon--anti-communist in expressions and pragmatic in deeds.

The history of Soviet-U.S. relations, at least after World War II shows that these relations were traditionally developing better under Republicans than under Democrats. If Reagan is interested, he can follow in this respect Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. The U.S. public would endorse such a policy since it prefers talks with the Soviet Union to hostile relations between two powers.

FOREIGN MINISTER VIEWS RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA

LD040024 Algiers Domestic Service in French 2000 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Algerian-Czechoslovak political talks started this afternoon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [passage indistinct] are led on the Czechoslovak side by Mr Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and on the Algerian side by Mr Mohamed Ben Yahia. Mr Bohuslav Chnoupek arrived this afternoon in Algiers. On his arrival, the head of Czechoslovak diplomacy gave his assessment of the improvement of Algerian-Czechoslovak relations at the microphone of our reporter.

[Begin Chnoupek recording in Czech with superimposed French translation] Thank you for this chance to speak to you on Radio Algeria, and to say that the main purpose of my (?stay) in Algeria, is to express the traditional friendly relations with Algeria, relations whch go back to the time when the Algerian people were struggling for their liberty and independence. You are right in saying that our relations have recently been stepped up. The political and economic dialogue has intensified, which is shown particularly by this visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, which is the first visit by a minister of foreign affairs of my country since we established diplomatic relations with Algeria. I have come here instructed by my government to work for a deepening and expansion of our relations in all spheres. [Words indistinct] in the political sphere, I bear a message from our president of the republic to Mr President Chadli, president of the Algerian Republic, and I also bear other invitations to politicians to visit our country. I am equally ready to talk of questions of economic development, where, in my view, there exist very great reserves for expansion, and where two countries such as Czechoslovakia and Algeria can complement each other mutually. We are pursuing a similar goal in our cultural cooperation and in our cooperation concerning conventions, including the scientific and technical convention. I am confident that the mission I am carrying out today will be crowned with success, which incidentally, comes from the first talks which I have already had in New York with my Algerian colleague, Minister Ben Yahia. The talks which we had on that occasion, passed in a very friendly and very frank atmosphere.

Of course, we are also going to talk of international questions. We think that we should first of all speak of major international matters, such as the problem of the continuation of detente, the strengthening of peace, disarmament, the Madrid conference, and also, of course, of the elimination of hotbeds of tension, including primarily that of the Middle East. We should also like to express our opinion on the movement of nonaligned countries, on the conference of ministers in New Delhi, as well as on the situation in southern Africa, in Asia, and so we will we have quite a few things to discuss. We know the aims of our Algerian colleagues concerning problems of international politics, and I would like to say that in fundamental questions, such as those of peace and cooperation and detente, our opinions are similar, the same, since the talks which we will be having will be our joint contribution, the contribution of Algeria and Czechoslovakia to the reduction of tension and the strengthening of peace. [end recording]

COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH MOZAMBIQUE

LD031504 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Talks on a protocol for cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and the Mozambique People's Republic took place in Cernin Palace in Prague today. The document was signed by Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, and by Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Standing Political Committee, secretary of the Frelimo Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of Mozambique.

CULTURAL PROTOCOL FOR 1981-85 SIGNED WITH HUNGARY

LD310632 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Text] Prague, 30 Jan (MTI)--MTI's correspondent reports: The Hungarian-Czechoslovak cultural and educational working committee concluded its 20th session in Prague on Friday. The Hungarian delegation to the meeting was headed by Deputy Cultural Minister Ferenc Ratkai and the Czechoslovak one by Deputy Foreign Minister Dusan Spacil.

At the 4-day conference the sides reviewed the past 5 year's experiences and results in the two countries' cultural, scientific and educational cooperation and outlined the tasks in the coming years. They established that the past couple of years evidenced a lively exchange of cultural productions, scientific and educational achievements and the number of literary works published in each other's country also grew. The intellectual products of one people reached broader publics in the other country and faster. The direct exchange between Czechoslovak and Hungarian cultural, educational and scientific institutions has become more regular and wholesome. Valuable results have been scored in the joint fostering of the progressive traditions of the common historic past. Promising are the achievements also in cultural questions affecting the national minorities; a good cooperation has developed to satisfy the minorities' demand to be able to foster their native culture and tongue.

On the closing day of the conference, Friday, Ferenc Ratkai and Dusan Spacil signed a protocol fixing the items discussed, as well as the two countries' work plan of cooperation in cultural, educational and scientific matters between 1981 and 1985. The new work plan calls for further improvement of the efficiency and quality of the bilateral relations. The sides agreed also to send for guest performances to the other country the very best artists. The document stipulates also that the higher education institutes of the two countries will cooperate on more research subjects in the future.

KAPEK ADDRESSES HORNI POCERNICE COMMUNISTS

LD010028 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 31 Jan 81

[Text] Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the city party committee in Prague, spoke in the discussion today at the conference of communists of the locality of Horni Pocernice, which is part of the capital, about the high responsibility of communists in the coming period. He stressed that officials and members of organs and organizations of the party must exert all efforts for winning over upright citizens for the fulfillment of the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the ensuing electoral program of the National Front. In the next part of his speech he summed up the results of the construction of the capital of our homeland and of Horni Pocernice, too. He stressed the importance and usefulness of activities of deputies of national committees who are shouldering the main burden of the entire election period. Comrade Antonin Kapek called on the communists fully to support these representatives of the people and all other committed citizens. At the end of his speech he thanked the members of the local party organization at Horni Pocernice and voiced the conviction that they will fulfill all their commitments undertaken in the resolution for the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

KANIA SPEECH TO PZPR COMMISSION REPORTED

LD032016 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1653 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Feb (ADN)--In a closing speech to the meeting of the commission for preparation for the PZPR Congress, which Radio Warsaw covered in part, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, referred to the difficult economic situation in the country and to the efforts of Solidarity leaders to create a state of chaos. He maintained that the country's economic situation is worse than it was 6 months ago. This is a result of an inherited situation and also of the destabilization caused by strikes, which each day cost hundreds of millions of zloty. As Kania said, the country is faced by "manifestations of anarchy, by the creation of a dual leadership, by the changing of an organization which declared itself a trade union into an organization far removed from that formulated in its statute." Referring to the question of the creation of a so-called "Rural Solidarity," Kania emphasized the viewpoint of the PZPR that the village should be an area of cooperation between the state power and the farmers and not a field for political battle against the state power.

Pointing to the necessity of strengthening and binding the party to the people, Kania added that this does not mean one should keep quiet and simply take note of the fact that Solidarity, against the interests of the workers but in pursuance of the line of its founders and some of its advisers and leaders, is being turned into an opposition party." Acting thus, Solidarity is toying with the trust of the workers. That is a fact and the cause of great concern to the party.

S. KOREA'S CHON TU-HWAN RECEIVES INCREASED U.S. AID

DW031356 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1112 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Dr Klaus Broszynski commentary]

[Text] South Korean dictator Chon Tu-hwan in the scope of his U.S. visit yesterday was received officially with due honors in the White House. During the talks South Korea was assured of an increase in military aid and the remaining of roughly 40,000 U.S. troops in the South Korean Peninsula. Listen to some remarks in this respect by Dr Klaus Broszynski:

The package carried home by the South Korean dictator not only contains further U.S. military aid to support the stepped-up rearmament of the regime's armed forces but above all the U.S. pledge to absolutely abide by the defense agreement concluded between the two states in 1954. Included in this is the remaining of U.S. troops in South Korea, for as is stressed by the United States in the joint communique this agreement constitutes a constant part of U.S. security policy in the Pacific. This is also the framework in which the United States sees its additional and intensified arms deliveries and improved economic aid to South Korea, because both, so the communique signed in Washington, noted, are in the interest of stability in the region and are urgently necessary in the face of the threat from communist North Korea.

The threat from the North, however, is the bugbear conjured up in South Korea since the end of the Korean War, almost 30 years ago, as is the threat from the East elsewhere. It, at the same time, is the justification for the state of emergency, emergency laws, military dictatorship and continuous military armament accompanied with far-reaching militarization of public life. That this bugbear, however, is not worth much was shown most plainly by the popular uprising in the South Korean industrial town of Kwangju last year.

It encompassed all popular strata so that even reporters from the rightist bourgeois camp, in contrast to their usual view, considered it a consequence of the unbearable repressions by the South Korean military dictatorship--given the fact that conditions in South Korea were and are only comparable with those existing under the military dictatorships of Chile and other Latin American countries. The intelligence service is omnipotent. People are being arrested arbitrarily and those who have become unpopular simply are disappearing under the cover of the night either for good or they return as cripples some day.

The crushing of the Kwangju popular uprising was a dreadful excess of the South Korean military machinery. What must be recalled in this respect, too, is the death and terror sentences against democrats, such as former presidential candidate Kim Tae-chung. And what must not be overlooked either in this connection is the fact that the Kwangju uprising was crushed above all because the U.S. units stationed in South Korea gave flank protection, so to speak, to the South Korean Army.

MUECKENBERGER CITES DSF ROLE IN TIES WITH USSR

LD312254 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Text] Erich Mueckenberger, the president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship [DSF] spoke on Friday in Dresden about the great importance of the cooperation with the USSR in the present world situation.

Addressing the seventh meeting of the DSF Central Executive he said that in these stormy times of increased class struggle the GDR is proving itself as a cornerstone of socialism in Europe. In this it can rely on the fraternal cooperation with the people, party and Government of the USSR. The exchange of delegations from the trade unions, youth groups and the friendship societies has, according to Mueckenberger, contributed to a considerable degree to awakening mutual understanding and to (?strengthening) friendship. The DSF basic organizations, from which emanate fresh impulses for the further political-ideological work of the DSF, have a great role in this regard.

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SYRIAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

LD040010 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Feb (ADN)--An agreement on friendship and cooperation for 1981-82 was concluded in Berlin on Tuesday between the GDR youth organization FDJ and the Syrian Union of Youth of the Revolution (RYU), along with a communique on the friendship visit of the RYU delegation. The documents, signed by the first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Egon Krenz, and the president of the RYU, Sa'd Hamadi, emphasized the fundamental agreement of the two friendly youth organizations on important international questions.

In 1982, for the first time, a friendship week between the FDJ and the RYU will take place in Syria. Also agreed was the education of Syrian youth functionaries at the Wilhelm Pieck College in the GDR. After the signing Egon Krenz presented Sa'd Hamadi with an FDJ medal "to strengthen our friendship."

FDJ OFFICIALS, EGON KRENZ VISIT ARMY UNIT

AU031003 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[ADN report: "FDJ Officials Visit the National People's Army: Militant Meeting With Egon Krenz; Artur Becker Honorary Banner for Motorized Rifle Regiment"]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"On the forthcoming 25th anniversary of the National People's Army [NVA], the members of the Central Council and the first secretaries of the FDJ Bezirk leaderships, together with Egon Krenz, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, on Thursday visited FDJ members of a formation of the land forces commanded by Col Egon Gleau. At combat training and in actions with the Soviet comrades in arms, they saw for themselves the struggle of the young army members within the 'FDJ party congress initiative' for best performances for the reliable protection of the socialist fatherland. The guests, who also included Gerhard Mueller, first secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk leadership, and Lt Gen Guenther Teller, chairman of the Central Executive of the Society for Sports and Technology, were cordially received by Lt Gen Werner Rothe, deputy chief of the NVA's land forces.

"The climax of the visit was an inspiring militant meeting in the motorized rifle regiment named for John Schehr." Capt Martin Schroth reported on the achievements accomplished in the socialist competition: "Combat Position, 10th Party Congress."

"In a speech, Egon Krenz thanked the NVA soldiers for their efforts to continue the SED's policy of peace aimed at the people's well-being. The most important assignment of the organization for each FDJ member in the NVA is to fulfill his military duty in a disciplined manner, vigilantly and with initiative, side by side with the glorious Soviet Army and the other allied armed forces."

Krenz pointed out that this assignment continued the FDJ's sponsorship over the armed organs initiated in 1952 by the then FDJ Chairman Erich Honecker. "Today, we can state with pride that the 25-year old history of our NVA is inseparably linked with the FDJ's history," Krenz stressed. "The education of all boys and girls to a high degree of defense preparedness, and the close affinity between the youth and army, is and remains a most important concern in the activities of our socialist youth organization."

"Egon Krenz referred to the aspirations of imperialism to change the power relationship, particularly in the military field, in its favor. Contrary to this, the consistent peace policy of the Warsaw Pact is aimed at limiting the arms race, disarmament and developing comprehensive peaceful cooperation. This is also comprised of always keeping defense at the required level. 'We have been able to see this for ourselves: the weapons of the workers class, and the protection of our socialist revolution, are in safe hands with you.'"

Egon Krenz then presented the Artur Becker honorary banner of the FDJ Central Council to the FDJ organizations of the John Schehr motorized rifle formation, and the Artur Becker medal to other collectives and army members.

"Earlier, motorized riflemen, members of the tank and missile units of the formation, as well as Soviet comrades in arms, displayed their skill on the training ground."

BRIEFS

TRAWLERS FOR USSR--At the Stralsund Volkswerft Shipyard the flags were exchanged on the 150th type Atlantik supertrawler. At the same time it is the 130th fishing vessel of that type built on orders of the Soviet Union. The crew took charge of the modern fishing and fish-processing vessel which is 103 meters long and will sail under the name "Volnyi Veter." With this ship the Warnow Shipyard has delivered the third supertrawler since the beginning of 1981. The planned output for the year of the 10th party congress is 26 fishing vessels. The home port of the "Volnyi Veter" will be Kaliningrad. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 31 Jan 81 DW]

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL HOLDS SESSION 30 JAN

LD310046 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)--The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic met in session on Faiday. The Council confirmed the friendship and cooperation agreements concluded with the Socialist Ethiopia and the Republic of Mozambique and signed during the official friendship visits last autumn by Presidential Pal Losonczi in the African countries in question. [as received]

On the basis of the reports of the home and justice ministers the Presidential Council discussed the settlement of citizenship and clemency pleas last year. The Council decided that the state and justice administration organs which had prepared the decision of the body, had acted according to the provisions of the law and where personal decision was concerned, observed also the requirements of socialist humanism.

The Presidential Council expressed appreciation over the work so far of Undersecretary of State for the Health Ministry Dr Eva Zsogon and relieved her of her post to fulfill another assignment. Simultaneously it named former Deputy Health Minister Dr Laszlo Medve undersecretary of state.

KADAR, LAZAR RECEIVE KAMPUCHEAN AMBASSADOR

LD010038 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 31 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Jan (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, speaker of parliament, received for a visit of introduction Khuon Ran, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kampuchean People's Republic to Hungary.

CONGOLESE DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS WITH APRO

LD022228 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 2 Feb 81

[Text] Budapest, 2 Feb (MTI)--As we reported earlier, negotiations started in Budapest Monday between the parliamentary delegations led by Jean Ganga-Zandzou of Congo and Antal Apro of Hungary.

Following the talks, Pal Losonczi of the Hungarian Presidential Council received the delegation of the Congolese People's National Assembly. Attending the cordial meeting was Janos Peter, vice-president of the Hungarian National Assembly.

Thereafter Antal Apro hosted a lunch in honour of the delegation.

PUJA RECEIVES HEAD OF AUSTRIAN DELEGATION

LD311025 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Text] Two separate Hungarian-Austrian talks have been held in Budapest. The session of the general joint committee, the agenda of which contained the broadening of bilateral relations, has ended. Attention was paid also to the international situation, with particular reference to security and cooperation in Europe. The head of the Austrian delegation, Ambassador (Friedrich Bauer), was received by Frigyes Puja, foreign minister.

At the Hungarian-Austrian talks on tourism the better provision of information for tourists and the creation of more diverse programs were discussed.

TRADE UNION SECRETARY COMMENTS ON POLISH EVENTS

AU031325 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Feb 81 p 3

[Tibor Thurzo interview with Jozsef Timmer, secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council: "By Joint Effort, We Can Influence International Conditions and the Working People's Living and Working Conditions"--date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] World public opinion is strongly preoccupied by Polish events, by the changes that have taken place in the Polish trade union movement. What impact do they have on the Polish and international trade union movement?

[Answer] World public opinion, as well as ours, is familiar with the Polish events. The reasons for these events are known. Our position, which we recently stated at the 24th Hungarian Trade Unions Congress, is known: We are in solidarity with the cause of the Polish people, and with the Polish people, including the Polish trade unions, finding and developing continued ways and means for building a socialist society.

We are aware that several trade union movements of different trends have developed and are operating in Poland. As yet, it would be premature to judge their activity. It is obvious that antisocial elements are also trying to obtain a role in this process. There are specific indications of this.

We acknowledge the realities and adopt the position that we are in support of the trade union movement that has developed in Poland as long as we are convinced that it really serves the cause of the Polish people and Polish working people. There is no doubt that it is in accordance with this position that our relations will develop with the various legally recognized Polish trade unions. We have one objective, which will remain the sole objective in the future: We support the Polish trade unions playing a role through which they serve the cause of socialism and the just cause of the working people, because this is in our interests also. And we approve of the trade unions fulfilling an increasingly significant role in society, a role that is most consistent with building society and the interests of the worker class. However, it is our sincere wish that the Polish trade union movement may progress toward unity and not toward division.

[Question] Speaking of the world trade union movement, of its future, we cannot fail to mention the activity of two trade union movements which have a great past, but which, in many respects hinder and prevent unity. We have in mind the trade unions of the United States and the PRC.

[Answer] As I have said, our relations are based on principled foundations. These guide us in developing any relationship. Accordingly, it is our endeavor to establish relations with all trade unions in the world that serve the cause of the worker class and are not guided by any hatred or discriminatory intention because of the attitude and world outlook of others. Thus, it is clear that, on this basis, we are prepared to establish relations with the trade unions of even the United States and the PRC.

MAGYARORSZAG VIEWS U.S. POSITION ON EL SALVADOR

WA041048 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] Washington has been following its worst traditions in undertaking to sustain the El Salvador junta by force.

In a twinkling it has glossed over the recent slaying of four U.S. citizens and revived military aid, which had been stopped, in the amount of $5 million. Yet, this policy failed in the case of the Saigon regime and the Somoza dictatorship. And the United States has been unable to protect either the detested regime in Iran or elsewhere from the storms of revolution. The explanation is simple: No form of American intervention can regain through artifice, whether by money or arms, what terroristic systems have lost irrevocably--the faith of the people.

For lack of something better, American propaganda can merely replay outworn motifs about "danger of international communism," Soviet and Cuban "intervention." In the meantime, these same spokesmen referring to unfounded rumors regarding other parts of the world warn against interference in the internal affairs of others. Thus, by distorting facts, they attempt to justify the most unmerciful suppression of a people striving for freedom and to justify U.S. aid given to the dictatorships. Because, contrary to the falsifications of bourgeois propaganda, the people of the country initiated the general attack against the bloody-handed junta of El Salvador in a struggle for the national and social liberation of their country. The struggle is being waged and directed by Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The struggle is not only for El Salvador but for Central America. If the progressive forces gain ground in El Salvador, better conditions will be established for expanding the revolutionary process in Nicaragua as well. Thus the reactionary system of Honduras and Guatemala violate the interest of all Central America and the peoples of the Caribbean area when they aid the terrorism of the Managua junta. The stand of Hungarian public opinion in this matter is determined by the fact that, as always, its sides with those fighting for progress against reaction. Since in El Salvador progressive people's forces are fighting a battle of national liberation against a suppressive regime, our country sides with the revolutionaries.

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH GDR

AU291125 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Jan 81 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Hungarian-GDR Cultural and Scientific Workplan"]

[Text] The eighth session of the Hungarian-GDR Cultural and Scientific Cooperation Committee was concluded by signing a cultural and scientific workplan for 1981-85 and a protocol in Budapest on Wednesday. The documents were signed by Andras Korcsog, secretary of state for cultural affairs, chairman of the Hungarian section of the committee, and his GDR partner, Dr Herbert Krolikowski, secretary of state for foreign affairs. Their signatures were witnessed by Janos Nagy, secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Rudolf Rossmeisl, GDR ambassador in Budapest.

Envisaging a development of cultural relations between the two countries, the medium-term workplan provides for implementing a rich joint program in the coming years. Thus, among other things, there will be performances by several artistic ensembles: the Gyor Ballet, the Kodaly Choir and the state opera company will visit the GDR.

Dr Herbert Krolikowski, GDR secretary of state for foreign affairs, who participated in the eighth session of the Hungarian GDR Cultural and Scientific Cooperation Committee in Budapest, was received on Wednesday by Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs. Afterwards, he had talks with Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Janos Nagy, and Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs, on current aspects of the international situation and relations between the two countries. The GDR delegation left Budapest yesterday.

DECISION ON DREDGING OF DANUBE REACHED WITH CSSR

LD311028 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Jan (MTI)--Hungarian-Czechoslovak riverine talks were completed in Gyor Friday with decisions made on questions of navigation and canalization affecting all riparian countries along River Danube.

The dredging will be started of the Bagomer bend of the Danube at Szigetkoz on the Czechoslovak border this spring. The river is shallow and dangerous there.

River-gravel of nearly 200,000 cu m will be removed, thereby widening the navigable waterway. If the dredging does not produce the required result, draining works will also be established at the river bend.

Under another important decision, the conditions of navigation will be unified between Bratislava and Gonyu. The draught will be defined, beyond which navigation is not safe. This year's schedule and locations of industrial dredging have also been defined. A total of seven million cubic m of river-gravel will be removed this year from the 140-km-long Hungarian-Czechoslovak common river bed.

KOROM ATTENDS MINISTRY OF INTERIOR CONFERENCE

LD312206 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 81

[Text] This morning Pioneers greeted the second national conference of the volunteer helpers of the Ministry of the Interior. In the presence of leading representatives of the party, government and cooperating state and social organizations, Istvan Horvath, minister of internal affairs, gave a speech. The following is an excerpt from his speech:

[Begin recording] Our public safety, traffic and police organs have ensured, often at the price of sacrifices and with great effort, order in public places, the undisturbed flow of traffic and the running of civic affairs. The fire service and the border guards have also fulfilled their tasks successfully; by their work they have contributed to the solution of the tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the prevention and discovery of crimes and misdemeanors and the implementation of socialist legality.

At the beginning of the first socialist state, Lenin drew attention to the fact that there is a magic way of expanding our state apparatus tenfold by a means which no capitalist states possesses or can possess; this magic tool is the involvement of the workers in the everyday work of the state administration. It has since been demonstrated that the strength of our state springs not from dictatorship but from the mass basis of power, the mass scale of support and the active participation of the citizens who voluntarily help state activities.

The work of the volunteer helpers has developed significantly since the first national conference. Their organizational structure and direction has become more mature and efficient. Their numbers have increased, with the exception of volunteer firemen; the staff has become better trained and more experienced than 5 years ago. [end recording]

Mihaly Korom, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, participated in the conference.

LEADERS GREET INDIAN, AUSTRALIAN COUNTERPARTS

LD260834 Budapest MTI in English 0610 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 25 Jan (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic expressed his good wishes to Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowen on occasion of the national day of Australia.

Pal Losonczi greeted in a telegram President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy on occasion of the national day of India, the republic day. Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, addressed a greetings telegram to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREES 7, 14 FEBRUARY WORK-FREE

LD031258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] We learn from the government press spokesman that the work-free days will be determined by a Council of Ministers decree within the framework of agreements with trade unions dealing with various forms of reducing working hours for this year and the average weekly norm of 42 hours.

Until the details have been agreed, the Council of Ministers has appointed the coming Saturdays of 7 and 14 February as work-free days.

GOVERNMENT REGULATES PAYMENTS FOR STRIKERS

LD031958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] We have just been handed a government communique. The Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution regulating the question of cash payments for workers in socialized work places who are not entitled to compensation for pay lost through strikes. The need for settling this problem is dictated by experience. The agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie contain a ruling about the right to strike. This problem is reflected in the statutes of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity as well as in the statutes of other trade unions. The final regulation of this matter will be contained in the trade unions bill, which will define conditions governing the resolution of conflict by means of the final resort of strikes and also the principles governing the payment of remuneration lost because of strikes. But the fact that strikes are taking place makes it necessary to settle this question now, especially in view of the fact that in many instances we are dealing with strikes being abused as a means of final resort and with strikes being used for purposes other than as laid down in statutes. This exposes the state to very great losses and affects workers' earnings.

Taking this into account the Council of Ministers has decided to settle this matter provisionally until final decisions are made. Guided by the best interest of society the Council of Ministers has resolved to grant to employees cash payments amounting to 50 percent of the remuneration due under their personal grade as defined by hourly or monthly pay. This payment is due once the strike is over, the employee has returned to work and has undertaken to make up losses caused by the strike.

If the workforce of the enterprise, or that part of the workforce which has lost wages because of participating in a strike, does make up losses caused by the strike, the agreement ending the strike should provide for the cash payment to be increased in proportion to the degree to which the strike losses are made up. The decision confirming that losses have been made up and that a cash payment should be made will be made by the director of the institution to which the enterprise is subordinated upon the recommendation of the director of the enterprise.

Cash payments will be made to employees provided the strike was organized on the basis of a resolution passed by the appropriate trade union or by the central board of the appropriate trade union on the basis of the statute of the union; that the strike does not go beyond the trade union's statute provisions; that the director of the enterprise has been given written notice of the intention to hold a strike at least 7 days before its commencement.

Should a strike take place without a resolution being passed by the appropriate trade union, exceed the aims defined by statute, or take place without notice being given to the enterprise director at least 7 days in advance, the employees' absence due to the strike will be regarded as an unjustified absence for which the employee will not be paid. Nor will the employee be paid if, while present at his workplace, he refuses to do his job because he is participating in a strike.

This Council of Ministers resolution will be published tomorrow in MONITOR POLSKI and come into force 5 February this year.

TU-GOVERNMENT TALKS CONTINUE IN RZESZOW, SWIDNICA

LD031818 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Excerpt] I received, a few minutes ago, our correspondent's reports on the situation in Rzeszow, Ustrzyki Dolne and Swidnica. In Rzeszow talks between the strike committee and the government commission are continuing in the building of the former voivodship trade union council. The government commission is led by deputy-minister of food industry and purchases, Kazimierz Jarosz, and a prosecutor from the general prosecutor's office, (Henryk Pracki) is taking part in the talks.

Before noon Prosecutor Pracki dealt with the first point of the demands concerning immunity of strikers and their families. These issues were next referred for further discussion to a working team set up by the government commission and the strike committee. At the same time, other issues essential for agriculture, such as agricultural investments, rural building, supply of agricultural machines and the issue of pensions and old-age allowances for farmers and agricultural workers are being discussed. After a break for lunch, the talks resumed at 1600.

A government commission arrived in Ustrzyki Dolne this afternoon where it started talks with the members of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity who have been on a sit-in strike at the headquarters of the local Interfactory Founding Committee for over 1 month. The talks dealt with the implementation of demands formulated by the strikers, among them the allocation of hunting grounds in the Bieszczady region, punishing those guilty of embezzlement in the implementation of various investment projects and other corrupt practices, according to Solidarity, regarding investment projects in Bieszczady region, as well as handing over leisure centers for public use. Twenty-five precise points were submitted but only four are to be discussed for the time being.

SWIDNICA HUNGER STRIKERS HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE

LD031828 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Over to Marek Szewczyk for the latest news from Swidnica:

A press conference organized by the unregistered union Rural Solidarity was held this afternoon at St Joseph's Church in Swidnica. The conference was attended by members of the National Consultative Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity with its chairman Mr Janisz.

[Begin Janisz recording] At 1100, 27 January 1981, in St Joseph's Church, Swidnica, a group of 15 farmers of the NSZZ Rural Solidarity in Walbrzych began a hunger strike to protest the discrimination against the spontaneously formed independent trade unions of farmers. Those on hunger strike are demanding that censorship be lifted on the information about independent trade unions of farmers; that the already created or yet to be created trade union of farmers be registered; that confronting us with the pseudo-trade unions organized by the voivodship uion of agricultural circles cease; and that full implementation of the agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie be carried out. [end recording]

During the press conference the journalists were informed of the contents of the consecutive, seventh, communique:

[Begin Janisz recording] Today, the eighth day and night of the protest which now is both yours and ours, is continuing. We write 'yours' because thousands of signatures and messages confirms that you are with us. Three of our colleagues have been taken to the hospital. The remaining eight are feeling all right. In these 8 days no circumstances have occurred which would allow us to stop the hunger strike. The authorities have failed to undertake action guaranteeing that the demands contained in the Gdansk agreements will be implemented for farmers. They are not even trying to start a dialogue concerning the matter of entering into an agreement with the rural population.

A disastrous agricultural policy conducted in the last 30 years has ruined private farming. We consider that in the period of the current renewal it is essential to examine life in the rural countryside. We are convinced that the renewal for farmers will have to be more than just verbal and it is essential to have an authentic self-government full of fighting spirit. The NSZZ Rural Solidarity is and will be such a self-government.

We participants in the hunger strike appeal to all farmers to prove their support for saving the countryside from a difficult economic and social crisis by joining the Rural Solidarity.

We believe that each private farmer will join the ranks of our Rural Solidarity and we also believe that our action is not the last one of its type. We are convinced that you will undertake other protest actions to support the joint cause of us farmers.

Signed: the striking farmers [end recording]

During the press conference one of the hunger strikers was taken to the hospital. The hunger strike at the St Joseph's Church in Swidnica is still continued by the seven other farmers.

GOVERNMENT, STRIKERS END TALKS IN USTRZYKI DOLNE

LD041202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 4 Feb 81

[Text] Ustrzyki Dolne--talks ended last night between the strikers and the government commission headed by Andrzej Kacala, the Ministry of Agriculture's undersecretary of state. Many complaints were explained and the demands submitted by the strikers were discussed. The commission took a positive attitude vis-a-vis the majority of the demands, stating that it will present its opinion on this matter to the highest government authorities. Assurance were also given that in the near future a commission will arrive in Ustrzyki Dolne equipped with powers to sign concrete agreements.

GENERAL STRIKE CONTINUES IN PODBESKIDY REGION

Bielsko Officials Resign

LD032110 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] The general strike in Podbeskidy region is continuing. Let us recall that the strikers want some members of the administration and economic authorities of the voivodship to answer for their actions. [Passage indistinct] during the meeting [presumably with the strikers] members of the government commission informed those gathered there that the voivoda and deputy voivodas of Bielsko have submitted their resignations to the premier. The talks are continuing. [Passage indistinct]

In Konin, the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] decided to withdraw the strike call in Konin Voivodship.

A few days ago we reported--quoting PAP--that the NSZZ MKZ in Olsztyn called off the general strike previously announced for 2 February. The local NSZZ spokesman went on local radio and gave the reason for calling off the strike as being that the plenum of the Front of National Unity [FJN] Voivodship Committee decided to apply to the Sejm with a request that the matter of recalling Sejm Deputy Edmund Wojnowski from the post of deputy because of the loss of confidence of the electorate in him, be examined.

Following this report, we received the following letter today from the FUN Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn:

In a television news bulletin, shown on 31 January at 1930 you included a piece of news which can mislead the public.

In connection with the above, the Presidium of the FJN Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn states that the plenary meeting of this committee did not submit a suggestion that the Deputy Edmund Wojnowski be deprived of his mandate by the Sejm. In fact, the committee submitted to the Sejm the matter which was submitted to the FJN Olsztyn committee by the Olsztyn MKZ NSZZ, asking that the matter be examined. The issue was dealt with by the FJN Voivodship Committee plenum on 28 January.

[Signed on behalf of the Presidium] Secretary of the FJN Voivodship Committee, Waclaw (Chojczyk); chairman, Wladyslaw Grudzinski

It transpires from this that the NSZZ press spokesman in Olsztyn had no right to state that the FJN plenum in Olsztyn decided to apply to the Polish Sejm to recall Deputy Edmund Wojnowski from his post because of the loss of confidence of the electorate.

Bielsko Talks Postponed

LD032158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Excerpts] Over to our correspondent in Bielsko-Biala:

Today talks started in the morning between the government commission led by Czeslaw Kotela, deputy minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection and the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity of the Podbeskidy region headed by Patryjojusz (Kozlowski).

In the afternoon, at the suggestion of the government commission, a break in the talks took place. In the face of documented proof of the infringement of social interaction norms [wspolzycie spoleczne], as well as legal norms by representatives of the administration organs of the municipal and voivodship authorities of Bielsko-Biala, the MKS of NSZZ Solidarity demanded the resignation of the voivoda, three deputy voivodas, the mayor of the city of Bielsko-Biala and two deputy mayors of the city.

Minister Kotela stated that the voivoda of Bielsko and three deputy voivodas have submitted their resignations to the premier and the government commission has not yet received a reply. A break in the talks was to be devoted to consultations with the premier concerning his agreement to accept the resignation of the representatives of the voivodship authorities. During the break in the talks Deputy Minister Kotela held telephone consultations with the premier and then, resuming the talks, made the following statement: Following consultations with the chairman of the Council of Ministers I herewith present the premier's view. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has received resignations from the voivoda and deputy voivodas. The resignations will be examined in accordance with the regulations contained in the law on people's councils. On 30 January of this year the voivodship People's Council expressed the view that disciplinary action should be taken against people guilty of infringements. In other matters, recommendations will be sent to the Prosecutor General's office and to the Supreme Chamber of Control. The government has in its possession the materials of the voivodship People's Council's commission called to investigate the accusations made by the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity in Bielsko.

We have listened to extra information and comment and we shall present them in detail to the premier. The premier wishes to review the personnel matters but in conditions of calm and order and not excitement and emotion.

We therefore address an appeal to the MKS in Bielsko to stop the strike and to start production which is needed so badly by the country.

At the same time I would like to convey the premier's view that the strike which has been going on for the last few days is not justified regarding the problems created by it and its consequences to the life of the region and the country. The government believes that this strike is contrary to the spirit of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements and its consequences are the responsibility of the MKS in Bielsko.

Presenting this statement the commission is expecting a response from the MKS in Bielsko-Biala. Following the statement of Deputy Minister Kotela, the strike committee went into conference. Following the conference, Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity proposed that the talks be postponed until Wednesday.

Sit-In Strikes Continue

LD040820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 Feb 81

[Text] Sit-in strikes are still continuing in more than 120 enterprises in the Podbeskidy region. In Bielsko-Biala and other towns bus transportation is not functioning. The residents of the Podbeskidy region are deprived of newspapers and periodicals due to the strike by drivers of Ruch [newspaper distribution enterprise]. Today talks are to be resumed in the afternoon between the government commission headed by Czeslaw Kotela, deputy minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection and the Interfactory Strike Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity of the Podbeskidy region.

Commission Leaves for Warsaw

LD041148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 4 Feb 81

[Text] Today at 0900 talks were resumed between the government commission and the Interfactory Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity, Podbeskidy region, which were interrupted yesterday. This is the news we have received from the press spokesman of the Interfactory Strike Committee of NSZZ Solidarity in Bielsko-Biala. Half an hour ago we received a report from our Bielsko-Biala correspondent, stating that the talks between the commission and Solidarity at the Interfactory Strike Committee headquarters in the Bewelana works in Bielsko-Biala have been interrupted and that the time of their resumption has not been fixed.

The strike in the Podbeskidy region continues.

The government commission led by Deputy Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection Czeslaw Kotela has left the Bewelana works for Warsaw. We have no further reports on the situation in the Podbeskidy region.

TU, GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TALKS IN JELENIA GORA

LD040024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Talks between the government delegation and the joint strike committee in Jelenia Gora continue.

Unfortunately the negotiations got stuck on the issue of the Granit vacation home in Szklarska Poreba. The Solidarity press spokesman, Waldemar Borek, stated that this home should be handed over to the health service. The government commission proposed to use the swimming pool of the Granit home for (?swimming) lessons and promised that the construction of a hospital in Jelenia Gora would be rapidly decided. Solidarity did not accept these proposals. A concrete decision is needed. The discussion continues.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE: SOLIDARITY FILLS GAP IN PUBLIC LIFE

LD021623 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 2 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Feb (PAP)--The Catholic daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE commentator states that although Solidarnosc is only a trade union and not a political organization aspiring for power, it nevertheless fills the gap currently existing in our (?political-state) life.

This gap has been produced by the lack of programmatic discussions, alternative solutions, efficient control over the implementation of adopted programmes, as well as social channels to influence areas of state life. It would be a dangerous illusion to think that Solidarnosc will come out of (?this role outgrowing) it earlier than the respective, above mentioned organs and institutions (?are) fulfilling their functions in an authentic and socially visible way. It is the existing situation that imposed on Solidarity the role of the representative of all swollen and unresolved both social and political needs, of which it can be relieved only through a change of the situation.

The preliminary condition for resolving any lengthy matters of argument lies in the society's and the government's awareness of the fact that the renewal must mean the change of mutual relations into partnership and the spreading of responsibility for the destiny of the nation and state. The renewal which would be limited only to arguments over the level of payments, social allowances and the length of working time, would simply be a waste of the present, historical chance, the daily concluded.

VIENNA TV CARRIES INTERVIEW WITH LECH WALESA 30 JAN

AU021855 Vienna Domestic Television Service in German 2020 GMT 30 Jan 81

[Unattributed interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on a program entitled "And Yet They Are Trying It: People in Poland"--time and place not given--recorded in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Question] What role does youth play in Solidarity? Are the young more radical than the old?

[Answer] Naturally the young are more radical. They do not know the dangers and do not accept given circumstances--they are just hotheads. But nevertheless we proceed hand in hand with them. The entire student movement is behind us and the young people from the enterprises are with us anyway.

[Question] Apropos the student movement: What is the relationship between the workers and the students? There exists a traditional distrust in this relationship in the West.

[Answer] Mutual interdependence certainly is something that we do not want. The students have organized themselves. Possibly we have been a paragon for them or have provided an incentive. That is why they now want to call themselves a trade union too. All want to call themselves trade unions. I do not think that is right. The name trade union is not suitable for students. They are studying, being trained. They will start work only later.

[Question] In an interview with the German magazine STERN you stated that you had an appetite for more democracy. Currently the impression prevails that you are rather sated.

[Answer] No comment. I am angry at STERN. People there are producing that kind of Western journalism that only looks Westward and does enormous harm to us here.

[Question] But is it correct that you are calling for calm and commonsense? The impression has prevailed in the past few weeks that you are primarily concerned with a good relationship with the government. Contrary to other people in Solidarity you advertise partnership with the party.

[Answer] We have achieved the existence of independent trade unions. Now we need a bit of calm to get organized and to work out programs. The government also needs that calm. After all, important reforms are awaiting implementation. The well-being of our country is at stake.

[Question] Nevertheless it is hard to believe in a partnership. There are many heterogenous forces in Poland, the party, the trade unions, the Church, the disgruntled grassroots. How do you want to reconcile all of them?

[Answer] All those forces are Polish forces. As Poles we must first and foremost think of our fatherland. If there is no Poland, all the different groups will not exist either. That is what we must understand.

[Question] Is that Polish national pride an important driving force for your movement at the grassroots, or is that broad opposition to the state and government to be sought in the deep Catholic faith of the people or just in their discontent with the economic situation?

[Answer] Certainly on the one hand in the faith and on the other in the needs of the moment. Every day people feel the mismanagement of our past governments. There are no foodstuffs, no meat, no coal. But even though we experience this situation daily we realize that we must nevertheless act calmly and reasonably.

[Question] Why should all those things that are impossible in other Eastern bloc states function precisely in Poland?

[Answer] I do not know about any other countries. I only know Poland. I have never travelled beyond the borders of this country. I know what is going on in Poland and only that interests me.

[Question] You have become an idol here in Poland in a very short time, a personified hope for more freedom. You have been voted man of the year in the West. How does the electrician Walesa feel in his new role?

[Answer] None of these things interest me. My aim is the trade union and I do not take notice of all the paraphernalia. It may be quite nice and pleasant but I really have no time for it. There are other people here for that role. They make a living of it because it is their profession. I am glad about it but that is all.

[Question] What are your personal prospects for the future in Solidarity?

[Answer] Best of all I would like to quit because in reality I am rather a selfish person and I have already done enough for the public. I have a wife and children and would like to spend my further life with them. I would like to remain unnoticed. That is all I can say about my plans.

KKP DELEGATES POLLED IN JAN ON WORK-FREE SATURDAYS

LD031235 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 16-18 Jan 81 p 2

["EG" report from the "Self-Government" column: "Work-Free Saturdays"]

[Text] The Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] decision on the issue of work-free Saturdays, which led to adopting the resolution calling for the post-strike agreements on the matter to be adhered to, has been the subject of a poll among union delegates. Some 80 percent of delegates supported the KKP's unequivocal stand, while among the 20 percent of delegates who expressed doubts the majority thought that final stands should not be adopted on the matter. It is significant, however, that what worried these delegates was that the decision might have an adverse effect on Solidarity's future activity. This shows that the practice of many years standing whereby every decision which does not accord with the official view--even those which urge adhering to correct principles, respecting rights and concluded agreements and so forth--is bound to have adverse consequences, continues to be topical. The economic effects of the adopted decision were not regarded as important by many polled delegates which is completely understandable in a situation when production stoppages lasting many hours due to shortages of materials, poor organization and so forth are by no means rare.

Three-fourths of the delegates gave an affirmative answer to the question of whether talks on the subject of work-free Saturdays should be pursued with the government but most delegates who answered the question were in favor of making no concessions in such talks.

Those who were ready to make concessions held the view that instead there should be demands for the implementation of other points of the agreements--especially those of access to the mass information media and drafting of a bill on control of the press, publications and performances--which the public would accept. Other matters which were singled out as those that must be dealt with were the release of political prisoners, changes in the Sejm election laws, the introduction of paid maternity leave and distribution of the Workers-80 film.

The results of the poll confirm the view held by Solidarity expert Bronislaw Geremek, one who drew attention during a KKP meeting to the fact that votes cast by KKP members need not necessarily reflect the view of all Solidarity members (the resolution on work-free Saturdays was adopted by a simple majority with two abstentions). The poll suggests that the view held by another Solidarity expert Jacek Kuron (who suggested during the same meeting that a union-wide referendum should be held if the government comes up with proposals to cut the workweek) would gain greater support among trade unionists as a whole than among KKP members. It does appear anyway that the decision to reject the referendum proposal was precipitated by the term "referendum" itself, thoroughly discredited as it was at the dawn of our people's statehood.

Many people are wondering how to deal with this dilemma. Let us hope that the common-sense of both parties to the social contract will lead on this occasion also to the much needed compromise.

NORWEGIAN GROUP SENDS PRINT MACHINERY TO SOLIDARITY

LD031357 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Jan 81 p 40

[Ola Hesstvedet report: "Solidarity Given Norwegian Printing Equipment"]

[Excerpt] In mid-November last year the first consignment of Norwegian printing equipment was safely delivered to the free Polish trade union movement, Solidarity. This practical form of supportive work is continuing. Thanks to trade union members and others who have heeded the slogan "an hour's wages to Poland" 11 secondhand offset machines and a stenciling machine are today being sent to Poland by sea from Sjursoeya.

"This is the biggest delivery to Lech Walesa and his supporters in Solidarity. Up to now the Poles have received 12 offset machines, 4 stencil machines and some smaller printing equipment from Norway," one of the actions' organizers, Geir Glenster, told AFTENPOSTEN. "The support for the collection was good but it could have been a lot better. The money is coming in steadily, from trade unions throughout Norway and from individuals who sympathize with the Polish workers."

[Question] Will there be further deliveries in the future?

[Answer] Absolutely. The need for such equipment in Poland is enourmous and we are not having any problems in getting the machines to the right addresses. The equipment for Solidarity gets through customs without difficulty.

MEETING FOR DEFENSE, INTERIOR MINISTRY WORKERS

LD031211 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 16-18 Jan 81 p 2

[From the "Self-Government" column: "Announcement"]

[Text] The [Solidarity] National Consultative Commission of Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs employees would like to inform Solidarity founding committees in all Ministry of National Defense enterprises and institutions and Ministry of Internal Affairs institutions throughout the country that Solidarity representatives will hold a meeting at 1000 on Saturday, 17 January 1981 at the offices of the Interfactory Founding Committee at 103 Graunwaldzka Street, in the "Step" Club.

All representatives who attend the meeting should have letters of authority from the Solidarity founding committee at their enterprise or institution to which they belong. Participants should arrange their own accomodations if required.

WARSAW VOIVODSHIP COURT REGISTERS NEW TU'S IN JAN

Brewing, Housing Unions

LD201749 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Jan 81

[Text] The Voivodship Court in Warsaw has registered two more new trade unions: the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Brewing Industry Employees with headquarters in Poznan, and the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of the Housing Sector Employees with headquarters in Warsaw. Both inions will operate throughout the country.

Workers Holiday Fund Union

LD241002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 24 Jan 81

[Text] The Warsaw Voivodship Court has registered the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of the Workers Holiday Fund in Poland with headquarters in Karpacz. This is the 61st trade union registered by the voivodship court.

'FLYING UNIVERSITY' RESUMES LECTURES, ACTIVITIES

LD031157 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 16-18 Jan 81 p 2

[Donald Tuck report from the "Self-Government' column: "'Flying University' Continues Its Activities"]

[Text] "The Flying University," or Society for Academic Courses [TKN], has started the new year in top gear. It is not, however, the TKN those who studied in it before August may remember. It is now held not in a private apartment--threatened, in addition, with brutal action by appropriate services reminiscent of the secret classes during the occupation--but in lecture halls full of students, academic staff and other guests thirsty for knowledge, where lectures can be heard which are sometimes controversial and unconventional but always interesting; lectures, moreover, which very often put knowledge distorted by propaganda and indoctrination to the test of truth.

At present a whole series of meetings is being held in Gdansk: Among the first was a lecture by the eminent Polish economist Prof Edward Lipinski entitled "Some Comments on the Economy and Socialism". The professor, with admirable fluency, shared with the audience his comments and reflections about the differences between various types of social and economic systems. He reminded everyone that man is not only 'homo faber"--man the producer--but above all "homo creativus," a creative, imaginative creature. These remarks are also important from the viewpoint of economic reform. Autonomy of industrial enterprises alone, meaning autonomy in planning, makes it possible for labor to assume its developmental, creative nature. It liberates the enterprise, talent and initiative of employees. This is linked directly with increased productivity, quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

Professor Lipinski drew attention to the role the central plan plays in the socialist economy. It makes it impossible for the economy to function correctly. At times when its form ceases to be guided by research, market analysis and cost accounting, but by the ambitions of pressure groups and individual decisionmakers, it exposes the economy to the risk of complete lack of resilience, especially if economic managers attempt to ignore economic laws and mechanisms which operate regardless of the nature of the social system and form of government.

After the lecture Prof Lipinski answered questions from the hall. The audience saw him off with prolonged applause.

The current series of lectures continues. The following are lecturing, also in the halls of Gdansk University: Editor M. Walendowska on the subject of "Sociological Characteristics of Totalitarian Society"; A. Michnik on "The Polish Intelligentsia's Attitudes 1945-80" to be repeated on 16 January; and T. Kowalik on "1956-58: The Problem of Economic Reform" and "Solidarity and State Structures." A. Drawicz, A. Kijowski and B. Geremek will also deliver lectures very soon. The independent association of Gdansk University students, which has organized the series, extends a cordial invitation to all who want to attend.

REPORT ON SPEECHES AT CONGRESS COMMISSION SESSION

LD040000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] I would like to present to you some of the speeches made at yesterday's deliberations of the Congress Commission which is preparing for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Let us recall that the discussion dealt with the draft theses for the ninth congress. Prof Zdzislaw Grzelak, director of the interuniversity Institute of Political Sciences in Lodz, member of the Lodz party committee Secretariat, spoke at the meeting.

[Begin recording] Esteemed comrades! I would like to share with you a few reflections which came to mind when I read the theses of the program provisions. To take the matter as a whole, I take the view that the document before us today represents only a starting point for every intensive effort to transform it into a better one, as far as the program and ideology are concerned, into a document which would perform all the functions which we link with precongress theses. So there is a need for improvement and for faster work because the party and the community are waiting for this document. Every delay, and I say this without hesitation, would be a mistake. It would be a mistake to postpone publication of this document.

After this brief introduction I would like to start with my reflections which come to mind when one reads this document. But before this, a reflection of a general character. To me personally, comrades, the most dramatic expression of our present crisis, and this has already been said, is the fact that we often hear the thesis repeated that socialism in our country and the recognition of the party's leading role is today being treated as a raison d'etat. We ourselves use this argument often.

The effect on the history of socialist construction in our country, on everyone of us, on party activists, is bound to be dramatic if we have to defend socialism against its opponents by the argument of the raison d'etat. The reason why we very often run away from this problem, why we do not want to face it, is because it has international importance, importance in relation to the whole international communist movement and we should bear this aspect of the problem in mind in order to overcome this state of affairs because it is clear that the edifice of socialism cannot be built on the foundation of the raison d'etat. It is necessary to restore to socialism in Poland its ideological and moral values, its attraction for the working world. We must prove that the social and economic efficiency of socialism is great.

Socialism is more than just the raison d'etat and we ought to campaign against this thesis. I am saying all this because we are doing this too slowly and I am also saying this because in the thesis on the subject of the nature of socialism not enough emphasis was placed on the fact that socialism is more than the raison d'etat.

I think, comrades, that what one expects from the congress, from its theses, is that they will generate and the congress will carry out a more profound diagnosis of the causes of the sociopolitical crises occurring in Poland and will analyze the role of the party in these phenomena, not only during the last decade but during the entire 36-year period, since it is only on such a diagnosis that one can map out and then implement, both in the party and in the socio-political system as a whole, a program of changes which give a guarantee of development without distortions and crises.

Although the third thesis--as you know, comrades--mentions the negative phenomena, which must be suppressed, it does not demand a discussion on the causes of these distortions and does not assess these causes. This is indispensable, it is a condition necessary to advance. I am repeating that it is necessary to reveal and to condemn these mechanisms, these negative traits of individual leaders as well as the clique organized for leaders in the past which resulted in distortions of our entire system and corrupted these leaders. This must be said clearly. Secondly, the party awaits concrete definition of the responsibilities for the present crisis. The point is not to [words indistinct] trials, but to establish exactly who is responsible for what and why. This demand is very apparent in the party.

I would like to say that to me personally this demand is important for two reasons: First, because of its present importance, which is the question of the depth of the danger presented by the present crisis and therefore the question of responsibility for what has taken place. This is a generally raised demand. Clearly we shall perhaps not deal with all this before the ninth congress or even at the ninth congress but we must put forward this matter exceptionally vigorously. To ignore it would evoke dissatisfaction on both the party and among the public.

Second, there is its long-term importance. We ought to make sure that our intransigence, our adherence to principle in this respect today, should be an element helping to create new long-term political and moral standards which will be embodied permanently into the system of party progress, the system of the exercise of power by the party. I want to stress here clearly that I am not talking about personnel changes as such. May I quote Marx who said that personnel changes may create the pretence that the issue has been affected and it is the issue that must be affected, it is the principles of the party's work that must change and we must proceed in the direction of socialism free of crises, free of the degeneration which took place among us.

[Words indistinct] the third issue: The congress is expected to provide new solutions to the institutional form which would guarantee that these distortions will not be repeated. The theses which we are to debate today in Points 9-11 submit for discussion before the ninth congress a number of proposals which, to quote the wording, have been submitted by party organizations. These proposals are listed. I think, comrades, that this kind of approach to the problem is dangerous because first of all there exists a general opinion within the party as to the character these changes should assume. The congress commission cannot merely present that which is being said in party organizations but should also take a stand in favor of specific changes. It should do so unequivocally because otherwise we will run the risk of being blamed for not possessing an attitude to this issue. The matter of these guarantees in the party statute is extremely important and I believe that the commission should adopt a clear position in this matter. [end recording]

Those were excerpts from the speech of Zdzislaw Grzelak during the Congress Commission session. Now we are offering you excerpts from the speech by Andrzej Wasilewski, member of the Central Committee and director of the State Publishing Institute in Warsaw.

[Begin recording] Before I say what I find lacking in the program tenets concerning the field of ideology I will use the example of an opinion which is often heard on the subject of television iiscussions between representatives of the government and Solidarity. What we hear is the opinion that rather than a contest between world outlooks it is a contest between looks because the arguments of Solidarity are being defended, more often than not, by people who are young and the arguments for the government are usually defended by people of advanced age. In view of the fact that this fact is subjected to stereotyped interpretation of the kind that young people are the people of the future, that youth is always right, the reception of these discussions is, a priori, affected adversely. It seems to me that efforts should be made not only to see that, in the television discussions, the arguments of the party should be defended also by young people but also that the program tenets which we are elaborating should get across to young people.

The program tenets concerning ideology contain the correct assertion that the policy of the past years disarmed the party ideologically as a result of the lack of democracy within the party and [word indistinct] pragmatism. This assertion should be kept. However, I note the lack of further development of the theme and the theses give the impression that despite the aforementioned assertion, the party attaches insufficient importance to the field of ideology and culture. It seems to me that the theses which concern problems of ideology should link up with the motions which provide the subject for discussion inside the party, outside the party and frequently against the party, that is, to concepts of conservatism and progress.

Discussion at this level is most inconvenient because it is being accepted as a certainty that all forces of conservatism are within the party and that all the forces of progress, and certainly their vast majority, are outside it. Congress theses should oppose this assumption. It should look for connections with the very rich tradition of the theory of parties of the working class which identifies the concept of party and party awareness with the concept of progress and progressive views.

In the eyes of the young the concept of progress is always something positive. In our theses we should say that our party supports attitudes open to all progress, to all innovation sensitive to social and moral evil, attitudes which combat the worn out order of things, attitudes which strive for better order, order closer to the ideals of socialism. It seems to me that our theses should deprive the forces attacking our party of the monopoly of the concept of progressiveness. At the same time it seems to me that our theses should clearly draw a line between the concept of renewal and the concept of regression because in the broadstream of our current line of discussion, concepts of the extreme right are being promoted under the guise of concepts of renewal.

Because for years our young generations have been starved of information, education, and history, these classical concepts of the right are being presented as innovations, as something new that is marking progress. This is a very dangerous phenomenon for the minds of the young. It is dangerous in the historical, political, economic and all other senses. We can also see embryonic forms of new complexions of regression which are carried by the new trade union.

At a time when the party is developing democratic centralism we are witnessing the phenomenon of despotic centralism. When we take up the slogans of democratic tolerance for pluralism of views we are witnessing a very strong collective tendency toward repression of alternative views. This too is a new symptom of regression which should be opposed in our theses. In a word, we should, in our theses, identify ourselves with the notion of progressiveness and at the same time cut away the possibility of the slogan of renewal being abused for the promotion of various ideas of the classic right and new symptoms of social regression.

So much about the issues of ideology. The theses dealing with culture will evoke a similar sense of insufficiency and I am afraid, within a broader concept, of disappointment. The cultural policy of the seventies, especially in the second half of the seventies, has been subjected to very sharp criticism for two reasons in particular: It led to culture being handicapped by lack of investments and by being offered minimal opportunity for development, and because it severely limited and subjected to capricious and willful decisions the limits of creative freedom in culture.

The theses devoted to culture do not repeat the criticism of those negative phenomena. I am worried that this will be understood as withdrawal of such criticism.. As far as the range of creative freedom is concerned then I think probably by some oversight the following sentence was included: The range of creative freedoms will be maintained. The word 'maintained' in this case will be turned against us as it will mean that we are maintaining what was justly and in depth criticized. Therefore, this also should be rephrased. In other words, I would favor broadening and strengthening, in the spirit already mentioned by me, the theses devoted to the ideology and the expansion and strengthening of the positive [word indistinct] of the theses devoted to culture. [end recording]

Those were excerpts of the speech by Andrzej Wasilewski, member of the Central Committee and director of the State Publishing Institute.

IRRATIONAL STATE OF MIND IN SOCIETY CRITICIZED

LD031518 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Congress Commission set up by the PZPR Central Committee is preparing a set of theses which, after a general party and social discussion, will become the (?topic) of the deliberations of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

Before we touch the general material, however, that is, our country's problems, I must recall that the Congress Commission could not refrain from adopting a position on our situation which is marked by all the signs of an economic, social and political crisis. About this crisis, whose overcoming is a condition for going on to any thoughts about the future, I would today like to say a few words.

For many months now the wave of social moods has been continuing. We are participating in unrest and conflicts extending throughout the whole country, individual regions and professional groups. We are observing attentively talks which lead from an assumption accepted and approved by everyone to achieving agreements and compromises which take into account all arguments, needs and possibilities.

Cleansing political, social and economic mechanisms of the irregularities which have accumulated is at the same time society's self-cleansing of years of disorder, lack of thought, ineptness, of the fossils which grew in a time when the authorities thought and decided on everything and for everybody. Renewing the construction and psychological condition of society is, however, a process more complicated and long-lasting than destroying and rebuilding new structures and systems, more difficult than regulating economic mechanisms, demanding more effort than jolting agriculture out of stagnation or satisfying the goods and money demands of the market.

This matter concerns people who look for references to the past and find confirmation or contradiction in their personal knowledge, convictions and experiences from their family or professional circle, the papers, radio and television. Many people, despite complete acceptance of the transformations taking place, are thinking with concern today about the country's future and prospects for the standard of living in the coming years, the possibilities of implementing social, group and individual goals and strivings.

I share this concern, not only because the next successive wave of strikes is on, the next successive increase in tension over the still unsolved, controversial questions. I worry primarily about the persistence of an irrational state of mind in society, the conviction that the correctness of the aims, demands and proposals ensures, automatically as it were, implementation; that the assurances and guarantees made by the government, voivodship authorities or managements are enough for us to have more apartments, furniture, washing machines, clothes, for the loaf we share to get bigger.

These convictions, I think, have two causes. The first, which I have mentioned, is the result of many years of thinking and deciding by the authorities about everything and for everybody; the result of often repeated specific gestures of giving to society new work-places, houses, factories, minicars, color television sets, higher wages, divided highways--gestures of giving which were unsupported by honest discussion of whether it is essential or whether we can afford it, and finally whether it will meet society's expectations. I think a mechanism [word indistinct] of waiting for gestures from the authorities and a whole ritual of eliciting and carrying out such gestures have come into being. So, as a result in society's consciousness the conviction was embedded that the authorities have and can give if they want to, and somewhat later, that they are obliged to give, regardless of whether--for who knew anyway--there is any money to cover it.

The second reason is the fact that we have persisted in this kind of consciousness from the August events up to today, when our situation requires different directions, other proportions and other methods of (?allocation). The demands formulated by workforces were accepted for implementation. Agreements were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. Tens, hundreds of new agreements have been signed since that time; sector, regional and plant agreements. I don't think there is a production plant in Poland, an institution or organization, which has not passed joint decisions on what should be done for everybody in Poland to live more comfortably and better. Thousands of people have affixed their signatures to the social contract, for all those decisions and agreements are one big social contract. People have been appointed by reason of the posts they hold and workforces have given them a mandate of social trust to adhere to the contact.

The world is watching with disquiet, but with respect, how Poles are coming to an agreement; how, step by step, day by day, opinions are maturing on the ways and means of taking the country out of the political and economic crisis. [Word indistinct] when apparently the same rules operate today as last year for defining social needs, for choosing aims and the ways of achieving them, today voices are being heard saying that we are losing our bearings and instinct for self-preservation. I think these claims are not without reason, for the stereotyped thinking that the authorities have and must give is still in full operation.

I favor all progressive political and social forces putting all their strength into implementing the concluded agreements; of the unrest and tension being resolved; of law and order reigning. But I am against maintaining an irrational state of mind in society, a state in which the apparent ease of formulating aims hides the difficulty of the daily work essential for their achievement. Regardless of the reasons for that state, we must find an efficient method of self-therapy--simply so that the so dearly bought and so long awaited process of renewal in our country does not turn, to the world's derision, into a dance of straw men.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON NEED TO LIMIT ALIENATION

LD291528 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 29 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Jan (PAP)--Ludwik Krasuski wrote in ZYCIE WARSZAWY today that each of the crises that shook Poland (in 1948, 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976 and 1980) was accompanied by signs of spiraling alienation leading to the waste of potential possibilities of the socialist system.

"None of the programmes to overcome any of the crises so far has covered planned and consistent anti-alienation activities such as consistent democratization of internal relations within the society, an economic reform--parallel to these actions and indispensable for their success, and introducing of norms directed against any attempts to combine position of authority with illegal privileges.

"Wladyslaw Gomulka was a man of unquestionable honesty and spared neither himself nor other people, a man of ascetic predisposition. That's why during his first-secretaryship there was no acquiescence of drawing profits from holding managerial posts. Unfortunately, such acquiescence emerged in the last decade. The effects had to be such as they proved to be" the author pointed out.

We are grappling with a crisis that has sprung on the soil of alienation phenomena. They have embraced the party, resulting in the alienation of the leadership and part of the apparatus from the broad active and basic organizations, especially the workers. They have embraced the state, causing the disruption of ties between the links of authority and the society. They have embraced the economy, making the planners and managers start speaking a different language from that of people employed in that economy. They have affected the working class which was begun, due to no fault of its own, to regard the state and the economy as things external to it. They have also embraced journalists, who have become suspended between the self-satisfied "top" and the society criticising ever more sharply its activities.

"I believe that as a matter of fact the phenomenon of alienation can be effectively limited and eliminated. It is high time that a Marxists discussion club was organized in Warsaw in which topics of such importance as alienation and ways of limiting it in our contemporary conditions would be considered," Krasucki concluded.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON 'RESURRECTING' WORKERS' COUNCILS

LD021224 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Feb 81

[Text] I am personally convinced that one of the main causes of the recent socioeconomic crisis in Poland was the weakening of a genuine workers' self-government which gave rise to a social vacuum at enterprises which lasted many years, writes Wladyslaw Styczynski in TRYBUNA LUDU. His article, published in the "Problems and Discussions" column, is entitled "On the Concept of Workers' Self-Government." The author emphasizes that the attempt to stabilize the activities of enterprises accompanied by the de facto absence of an institutionalized form of a functioning workers' self-government elected by the entire labor collective and representing, as was the case some time ago, a decisive link within the organization of efficient production, constitutes the main defect in the desire for economic and social stabilization. This flaw is particularly discernible in the circumstances resulting from the changes that have taken place in the Polish trade union movement.

As before we can observe the unbalanced nature of the decisions taken in the social area when clashes and conflicts are not confined to the enterprise itself. Several trade union organizations operating at the enterprise--this is the case at many enterprises--do not have a working partner, as far as management is concerned.

That is why, in W. Styczynski's opinion, the time is now ripe to return--taking the new social and economic conditions into account--to the idea of setting up workers' councils, utilizing all the valuable experiences of the preceding period.

Consciousness of the necessity of resurrecting workers' councils is spreading increasingly. Corresponding passages [momenty] can be found in the draft document which sets out the economic reform provisions.

The Coordinating Commission of the branch trade unions [word indistinct] a similar position.

COAL, COKE OFFICIAL SPEAKS ON SHORTAGES, EXPORTS

LD032246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] For years on end coal has been the most important source of foreign currency for Poland and also our traditional export specialty. At present there has occurred a considerable reduction in our extraction capabilities and the export of coal has found itself in a truly dramatic situation. In the fourth quarter of 1980 we received at our disposal less than 2.7 million tons, that is, only two-thirds of the normal monthly pool of coal. This cannot be termed a deficit; it amounts to a full scale collapse of deliveries, deliveries which are so important to our delicate balance of foreign trade. Speaking at the microphone is Witold Rosnowski of Weglekoks [National Coal, Coke Trading Organization]

[Begin recording] Last year we failed to deliver coal under contracts to the amount of 12.2 million tons. For the time being no improvement is in sight. In January we exported only 400,000 tons of coal. February promises to be no better. It must be said that our prtners are showing great patience, although Poland has so far supplied more than 30 percent of European coal requirements. We have always been appreciated because of our prompt deliveries, although our record in this respect worsened over the last few years. The traditional customers for our coal reckon that in the near future we will succeed in recouping our export capabilities. In practice our trade in coal was based on the principles of long-term contracts. This ensured for us the necessary stability and certainty in obtaining currencies through export of our product.

Prices were negotiated every 6 months. For several years, too, we linked our deliveries of coal with receiving credits. In our contacts with the socialist countries it was coal that enabled us to buy, among other things, petroleum, gas, iron ore and chemical raw materials. Our contracts are still valid. Some of them reach forward into the nineties. One cannot break such ties with impunity and the consequences are often serious. At present we are trying to share our coal supplies among our customers, using the meager stocks that we have at our disposal. We do not even know how much coal we can count on this year.

Lately a situation has developed in which Weglekoks has become, for the mining industry, the last customer in the line for coal and has been given leftovers. This cannot continue if we wish Poland to be regarded as a serious trade partner. We must know the real quantities of coal deliveries for export. We cannot, however, receive less than over 20 million tons because even that amount constitutes only one half of our contractual obligations. We understand that the needs of the country are the most important, but we also take into account the value of coal: The price of 1 ton, depending on quality, amounts to $55-100.

We believe, therefore, that from talking about the need for economy we must change, as quickly as possible and as consistently as possible, to real action, both in the economic sphere and in the field of technology. The necessary stimuli must be created to save fuels and to modernize industrial installations with a view to the most efficient combustion of coal. It is also necessary to pay attention to general improvement in the use of insulation, in building. It must be remembered that others are already waiting to take our place in world markets. [end recording]

DRIVE AGAINST THEFT IN 'DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION'

LD291514 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 29 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Jan (PAP)--The police have launched energetic efforts to crack down on the increased wave of various kinds of offences evoked by the present difficult economic situation in Poland. The most common among them are theft of public property in such areas as building, transport or food industry, and profiteering, TRYBUNA LUDU reports. Intensive efforts have been also undertaken to fight such negative phenomena which have been observed to grow recently among the so-called fringes of the society as alcoholism and parasitism.

The police are conducting synchronized action throughout the country to ensure peace to citizens and order in town and countryside.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS WEST'S 'ANTI-POLISH SLANDERS'

AU031443 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Jan 81 p 4

[Stanislaw Abramczyk article: "Anti-Polish Slanders and Licentiousness"]

[Excerpts] For many years now Poland has been a target of propaganda onslaught by the most aggressive centers run by contemporary imperialism. Such onslaughts gain in intensity during periods of difficulties and tension in our social and economic life so that these difficulties and tension can be increased and prolonged. Slanderous allegations supplied by various renegades and subversive elements as well as by the old, dust-covered Hitlerite department of propaganda, are used for those onslaughts. The centers in question implement their propaganda and indoctrination tasks mainly by falsifying history and by alleging eroticism and licentiousness.

At the beginning of this year FRG television screened a long serial entitled "Escape and Expulsion." The pseudodocumentary passages of that serial accuse the nations of the anti-Hitlerite coalition--primarily the Polish people--of having committed numerous supposed crimes against the Germans, especially at the end of World War II or during the immediate postwar years.

That serial was sponsored and propagated by the West German revisionist circles which are officially represented by the "Territorial" associations (financed by the government). These associations argue in their recently distributed leaflets that the "wave of strikes in Poland has opened a new phase of struggle to regain the German eastern territories."

That kind of propaganda is being aided by certain equally slanderous publications in English which, among other things, falsify the truth about the Hitlerite occupation in Poland and charge the Polish people with bestiality and sexual licentiousness. William Styron's book entitled "Sophie's Choice," Cape, London 1979, which was reviewed by Jan Dobraczynski in the "ZA WOLNOSC I LUD" [FOR FREEDOM AND PEOPLE] weekly, occupies an exceptionally perfidious position in that regard. In that book, which is being sold in large numbers in the West and which is a bestseller in the United States, Styron tries to convince the mass reader that "Poland is an anti-Semitic country," one which "is the true author of anti-Semitism," and that the ghetto is a "Polish invention." That is why--that "expert" in our affairs continues--"Poland is even worse than Germany." Of course, he means Hitlerite Germany. Poland's image during the Hitlerite occupation is so painted in Styron's lampoon: "Who was to be feared more: the Nazis or the Poles? No doubt the Poles, who were our fellow citizens (....) The drunken hoodlums! They laughed at us, they mocked us... They called us kikes. They were the Poles. They called themselves 'The National-Radical Faction' (ONR). But the other groups of the Polish resistance movemetn were the same.... They were fanatics and fascists. As a Jew I could expect more sympathy from the Ukrainians or from Governor Frank. But I will give you a warning: The communists were exactly the same. Even worse." The only worthy thing in such a country, Styron asserts, is a Prussian officer's scourge.

Styron completely ignores the fact that in occupied Poland, which was heroically fighting against Hitlerite genocide, there existed an underground state which actively documented its national humanism; that the Polish people--on a scale unequalled anywhere else--helped the Jews condemned to annihilation by genocidal Hitlerism (one form of such help was the specially set up Zegota committee to assist the Jews); and that they judged and carried out verdicts on traitors and informers, including those from the Jewish communities.

Styron's lampoon compares in form and content with another anti-Polish "bestseller" in the West in the sixties, entitled "The Painted Bird." Jerzy Kosinski, who wrote it, is a graduate of Lodz University. He went to the United States on a study grant but refused to return to Poland and began the career of a slanderer of Poland and th Polish people. In his lampoon "The Painted Bird" he presents the Poles as primordial beasts in human shape, as imbeciles and anti-Semites who persecuted the Jews during the occupation and as perverts who had sexual relations with their own children and with rabbits. Howver, the 10-year old Kosinski, who was kept in hiding by peasants of that kind, survived the occupation and did not suffer even a common cold, although the tortures that the Polish peasants had supposedly inflicted on him should have killed him many times over. As he alleges, for many hours they tried to drown him in a deep latrine and in a hole cut in the thick ice of a river. All the same, Kosinski and his parents survived! That is only one of the examples of the racist and animal-like hatred of the Poles, who, risking their own lives, rescued Kosinski and many thousands of his compatriots from Hitlerite annihilation.

But is it only the aforementioned persons and centers in the West that publish tendentious materials that falsify our reality and national characteristics and try to foster and stimulate degeneration? Some materials published in Poland itself propagate deformations, national and social nihilism, licentious sexualism and boorishness. The ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI article of 5 January entitled "To Whose Advantage? gives details of such materials.

There were many such publications professing anti-Polish and antihuman falsehoods and licentiousness. The first example of that was Julia Bristiger's book "The Crooked Letters," published by CZYTELNIK [READER] in 1960. The book charged the Polish people with the aforementioned "qualities." Among other things, the book describes how an officer tries to force a woman to have sexual intercourse with him. When she refuses, he says: "Why have you come here, you whore? Are you not a patriot?"

All the efforts of this kind are made--as the woman author of that lampoon said--to achieve political aims by guile and by the means suggested by the old and proven principle of "divide and rule." For, if the world could be convinced that the Poles are beasts, perverts, imbeciles, anti-Semites and so on, it would become obvious that only a foreign scourge--fascist-German or Zionist--could make humans out of them! However, as Julia Bristiger and her ilk failed completely in her own days (she said so herself in her own lampoon), the "Crooked Letters" that are now trying to take root will also fail. The poison of falsehoods, nihilism and licentiousness used against Poland will not succeed in the long run. However, it is necessary to more extensively acquaint the public with the sources, plans and mechanisms of such an anti-Polish and anticommunist hue and cry.

REPORT ON PLANNED U.S. CUTS IN FOREIGN AID

LD040944 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 4 Feb 81

[Excerpts] Here is a dispatch from the United States. Implementing the preelectoral promises of President Reagan his advisers are considering a reduction by one third of expenditure in U.S. overseas aid in the coming financial year.

It is said in Washington that the proposed cuts will embrace all the programs of foreign aid, among them the activity of the so-called Import-Export Bank whose funds are used by Poland which is drawing credits to purchase grain from the United States. One should add that on other occasions representatives of the new U.S. administration gave assurances that the aid to Poland will continue, although its size is not given. Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated that our problems are of a broader character and that the Poles themselves must solve these problems. Let us add, finally, that political observers in Washington maintain that the above-mentioned proposals of cuts in U.S. aid for abroad will be met by the disapproval of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate. Both houses consider foreign aid a significant factor in maintaining U.S. prestige abroad. This is Maciej Slotwinski reporting from New York.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY QUESTIONS FRG USE OF 'PATRONAGE'

LD260332 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 26 Jan 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP)--ZYCIE WARSZAWY's Bonn correspondent points to the practice, widespread in the FRG, of assuming "patronage" over the cities of northern and western Poland by West German cities. This "patronage" is supported by subsidies from the city, land or federal funds.

"As the DKP [German Communist Party] daily UNSERE ZEIT observes, they claim to be "the friends of Poland", "democratic" Poland, which to them means non-socialist. However, what they actually mean is not the well-being of the Polish nation or society. What they see is rather an opportunity for a "new phase in the struggle for the recovery of eastern German territories."

"Revisionism is still finding patrons in the FRG, it is backed by official institutions and prominent politicians," ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote in conclusion.

HEALTH CARE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH EGYPT 3 FEB

LD040006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] A protocol on cooperation between Poland and the Arab Republic of Egypt in the years 1981-82 in the field of health service and medical sciences was signed in Warsaw today. The cooperation provides among other things for training of medical staff, statistics, medical data processing, the control of medicines, and health service planning and organization.

FESTIVITY MARKS TREATY ANNIVERSARY WITH USSR

AU040825 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1839 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Feb (AGERPRES)--Within the events arranged in Romania in marking the 33rd anniversary of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, on February 3 a meeting was held at the club of the Bucharest heavy machinery enterprise.

Participating were representatives of the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee and a delegation of the Soviet-Romania Friendship Association, on a Romanian visit on the occasion.

Emanuel Boldici, director of the enterprise, and B.I. Ilyushin, vice-president of the central leadership of the Soviet-Romania Friendship Association, deputy chief editor of IZVESTIYA talked of the significance of the event.

OPREA, BURTICA RECEIVE SYRIAN PLANNING MINISTER

AU040820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Feb (AGERPRES)--Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania in the Romanian-Syrian Joint Governmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration was called on February 3, by Salim Yasin, minister of state for planning, and Nasir Kaddur, deputy minister for foreign affairs of Syria who are now on a Romanian visit.

Tackled were problems regarding the Romanian-Syrian relations particularly the mutually advantageous economic collaboration and cooperation in various domains of mutual interest.

The same day, the guests were received by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

During the talk on the occasion, they discussed questions related to the economic links, to the expansion and diversification of the commercial exchanges between the two countries.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON PLAN FULFILLMENT

AU291045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 29 Jan 81

["Resolution and Call of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP on the Fulfillment of the Single National Plan of Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the 1976-1980 Euinquennium"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Jan (AGERPRES)--The document released by the Romanian press of January 29 points out that the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, debating the report on the fulfillment of the single national plan on socio-economic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1980 and throughout the 1976-1980 quinquennium, appreciated that the working people in all compartments of the national economy have scored outstanding successes in the last five years, thus making Romania traverse a particularly important stage in carrying through of the RCP programme.

The technico-material basis of our society has been developed and modernized, the harmonious flourishing of the productive forces all over the country's territory has been ensured, just as the considerable increase of the national wealth, the raising of the whole people's material and spiritual welfare, deep-going transformations have been wrought in the entire society.

During the quinquennium, Romania's industrial output has increased at an annual average rate of over ten per cent and the farm output almost five percent. The national income has grown by over 41 percent throughout the reported period, which allowed for a some 29 percent rise in the real remuneration as compared to the initially planned 18-20 percent as well as for a 29 percent rise in the real incomes of peasantry derived from work in cooperative farms and private homesteads. Important rise has been scored in the funds earmarked out of the state budget to socio-cultural needs, which in 1980 topped 70 billion lei--by over 39 percent more than in 1975--greatly contributing to the general rise of the whole people's welfare.

The results scored in the concluded five-year plan period lifted Romania onto a new stage of progress and civilization, the document stresses, then showing:

The Executive Political Committee highlights the correctness of the RCP policy of socialist construction, as an essential factor of the country's progress, the fact that the Romanian Communist Party creditably fulfills its historical mission of leading political force of the entire society, ensures the firm advance of Romania on the road of welfare and prosperity. The document assesses highly the essential role of Nicolae Ceausescu in the elaboration and carrying through of the party's policy, his decisive contribution to the establishment and translation into life of the plans of socioeconomic development of the homeland, to the improvement of the organization and management of activity in all domains, to the multilateral and steady progress of the country, to raising the whole people's level of civilization and welfare.

Referring to the economic targets of the 1981-1985 five-year plan meant to further the strong development of the productive forces and the improvement of the social relations, to provide conditions for Romania to pass from the stage of a developing socialist country to a higher stage, of a medium-developed country, the resolution demands the ensuring of a new, higher quality in all compartments of activity, in every productive unit, in ever work place, demands that action be taken for the integral and rhythmical fulfillment in conditions of high efficiency of the physical and net production, of all plan indices, while paying special attention to increasing the production of raw and energy-generating materials, to the stronger development of farm production. Pointing to the need for observance of all quantitative and qualitative indices of the economic activity, the document insists on the fulfillment of the export tasks, on cutting down tangibly the imports and meeting to an ever greater extent the demands of the economy with internal forces, demanding that everything be done for balanced payments and for diminishing already this year the foreign debts.

In the final section, the document reads:

The integral fulfillment of the plan of socio-economic development in 1981 and throughout the quinquennium provides premises for the steady growth of the national income and, hence, for the fulfillment of the programme of continuously increasing the whole people's material and spiritual welfare.

For the fulfillment of these targets, the Executive Political Committee urges the party organizations, the communists, all working people, Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities, our entire nation, to intensify their efforts and rally all energies and power of creation for the carrying through under the best conditions of the plan tasks for this year and of the provisions of the current five-year plan, for the steady translation into life of the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

In this respect, the Executive Political Committee addresses to the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, to all working people the call to spare no effort in order to contribute more to the impetuous progress of the economy, to raising the material and spiritual welfare of the entire nation, to the homeland's continuous thriving, to consolidating its independence and sovereignty.

OBRADOVIC COMMENTS ON PROBLEMS FACING REAGAN

LD041012 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0931 GMT 4 Feb 81

[TANJUG correspondent Slobodan Obradovic]

[Text] Washington, 4 Feb--Traditionally, every new administration in the United States can count on public tolerance during the first one hundred days in office. But hardly a fortnight has passed since the start of President Reagan's administration that criticisms have already been heard about a lack of clear, concrete and concerted policy of the new team at the White House.

Already in his inaugural address, President Reagan avoided all specific declarations on the most important problems facing the American nation. Initial criticism claims that Reagan has demonstrated a certain lack of determination in regard to the manner of dealing with vital problems.

For instance, the loudly announced new economic policy is facing a dilemma as to how to reduce taxes while ensuring the necessary funds for the vastly expanded armament expenditures. How to curb inflation and prevent the further price rise, whether or not to retain the embargo on wheat deliveries to the Soviet Union, should the registration of young people subject to military conscription continue, whether to liberalize the prices of natural gas, as was done with those of petrol--these are some of the burning issues for which the Reagan team has to offer answers.

The new President is also criticized for having made a few mistakes in his statements--he confused the Caribbean with the Mediterranean and claimed that the manufacture of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union cannot be controlled, while Reagan's Secretary of State Haig confused the problem of Palestine with that of Jerusalem.

The administration's announced commitment to cutting back the amount of public welfare aid for the poorest--of whom there are about 20 million in the United States--has also come under criticism.

Stocks have been falling during the past two weeks as business has awaited Reagan's announced plan for economic revival.

The Republican right wing is protesting against not giving important posts in the new administration to "hawks" of the United States' internal and external policies.

The Congress and the State Department have come up against the government's announced intention to drastically reduce the amount of aid for the developing countries, among other things also through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

In view of the already "not-too-good" relations between the United States and the developing countries, similar moves, might further diminish the chances for the United States to find a common language with "the south."

MEETING ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION HELD IN BELGRADE

Vasiljevic Speaks

AU031422 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 81 p 6

[M. Milivojevic report]

[Summary] Belgrade, 30 Jan--A 2-day meeting of the international liaison committee for peaceful reunification of Korea began in the Sava Congress Center in Belgrade this morning.

The meeting will also discuss preparations for the Third World conference on support for a peaceful reunification of the divided Korean people, and is expected to adopt a resolution and program of activity for the international liaison committee for peaceful reunification of Korea. Representatives of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples attend the meeting as hosts.

The meeting was greeted by Zivan Vasiljevic, member of the LCY Central Committee and member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, who stressed that the division of Korea was not only an injustice to the Korean people but also a lasting threat to peace in our hemisphere and the world. He said that the LCY, the SAWPY and all other sociopolitical organizations and working people and citizens of our country will continue to comprehensively support the DPRK efforts to implement the goals set at the Sixth Korean Workers Party Congress aimed at bringing about a peaceful unification of the country.

The meeting was then addressed by Lucio Luzzatto, president of the international liaison committee for peaceful reunification of the Korea; (Guy Dupres), deputy general secretary of the international liaison committee for peaceful reunification of Korea; Bogdan Osolnik, head of the delegation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples; and Kim Yong-sun, vice chairman of the Korean Committee for Solidarity With the World's People. They stressed the need for broad support for efforts aimed at Korea's peaceful unification.

The debate continued at the afternoon session, when a large number of participants in the meeting spoke.

Meeting Ends

AU031435 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] TANJUG--An expanded session of the executive committee of the international liaison committee for peaceful reunification of Korea that was devoted to the proposal on forming a confederal democratic republic of Korea, ended in the Belgrade Sava Center yesterday. The committee adopted a proposal that the third world conference on peaceful unification of Korea be convened in Algiers in April. The committee's action program and a declaration of the session were also adopted.

During the 2-day meeting members of the committee from countries of all continents, among which was also a Yugoslav delegation led by Bogdan Osolnik, president of the Yugoslav League for Peace, examined the political situation in the Korean region and the proposal to form a confederal democratic republic of Korea made by Kim Il-song, president of the DPRK, at the Sixth Korean Workers Party Congress in Pyongyang in October 1980. Participants discussed in detail the preparations for the third world conference for Korea's unification and adopted a proposal that the conference should discuss four topics and that Yugoslavia should submit a report on one of the topics. At the Korean Workers Party Congress last October, DPRK President Kim Il-song made the 10-point proposal for a peaceful unification of Korea and for creating a united state on a confederal principle. Among other things, he proposed that the future Korea should be a nonaligned, independent country and that it should cooperate with all countries of the world on the basis of respect for the principles of noninterference and peaceful cooperation, as well as that a single government be formed which would be composed of representatives from both parts of Korea on the basis of equality.

Members of the executive committee and Kim Yong-sun, head of the DPRK delegation at the Belgrade meeting, expressed particular thanks for the hospitality and good organization of the meeting to the host--the Yugoslav League for Peace.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS 3 FEB

LD031556 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG)--A session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was held in Belgrade today.

The Presidium was briefed on the content of the talks which Comrades Cvijetin Mijatovic, Stane Dolanc and Josip Vrhovec had with Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu and Stefan Andrei in Timisoara on 31 January and 1 February 1981.

On the basis of the authority given by the LCY Central Committee, which set up commissions for the preparation of the drafts of the documents and other (?materials of the) 12th LCY Congress and had appointed their chairmen, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, in agreement with the central and provincial committees of the League of Communists and with the committees of the organization of the LCY in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, appointed the commissions' members.

Within the framework of the preparations for one of the ensuing sessions of the LCY Central Committee, the implementation of the role and tasks of the basic organizations of the League of Communists in the further development of self-management and socioeconomic relations and of the delegate system in the basic organizations of associated labor and in local communities was discussed.

The Presidium decided that the next session of the LCY Central Committee will be held in Belgrade on 26 February 1981. It will suggest that the LCY Central Committee discuss the implementation of the stands of the 11th LCY Congress on all-people's defense and social self-protection. The session (?also) discussed other questions pertaining to the routine activity of the Presidium.

MOJSOV ADDRESSES MEETING ON WORK OF KARDELJ

AU031551 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Jan 81 p 3

[Speech by Lazar Mojsov, President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the Ljubljana meeting entitled "The Thought and Revolutionary Work of Edvard Kardelj" on 26 January]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Jan (TANJUG)--Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium made the introductory report at the meeting entitled "The Thought and Revolutionary Work of Edvard Kardelj." Starting his report, Lazar Mojsov said that in the context of the Edvard Kardelj Yugoslav Center for the Theory and Practice of Socialist Self-Management and inspired and directed by Kardelj's theoretical ideas, a 2-day discussion was beginning which should contribute to the development of ideas necessary for the further successful revolutionary development of our self-managing socialist society.

"This is an opportunity for new stimulation of theoretical Marxist thoughts on self-management, but unfortunately it is also a time for sad memories," said Mojsov. "For it is precisely 2 years since the death of Comrade Edvard Kardelj, and in the meantime, last year, Comrade Tito also died. So in a very short period, we have been left without two of the exceptional giants of our history, Comrade Tito, the strategist of our revolution and of all our victories, the creator of socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, and Comrade Kardelj, the most thoughtful and creative theoretician of Tito's strategy. This has been an excessive loss for the League of Communists, the workers class and all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, but their great revolutionary work has remained and with it our unswaying resolve to continue that work and to implement more and more fully the ideas of self-managing democratic socialism, to which Comrades Tito and Kardelj devoted all their heroic lives.

"Building socialism is a revolutionary act. It is a process of incessant conquest of new areas of human freedom, through which everything is destroyed and overcome that stands in the way of man's return to his true natural characteristics--decency, humanism, complexity and spontaneity. In our theory and practical action on the way to emancipate labor, we therefore proceed from Kardelj's understanding of the revolutionary nature of socialist progress, which in fact develops Tito's idea that 'there is no realization of socialism without revolutionary development.'

"Generalizing the experiences of the revolutionary road taken since 1941, Kradelj pointed out precisely at the 11th LCY Congress the necessity of continuing this stormy socialist transformation, stressing that 'the chief and decisive task of the present day is the struggle for dynamic and incessant progress of socialism itself as a system to continually strengthen self-management, democratization and humanism in social relations.... We must know that there is no greater danger to socialism than stagnation and the loss of prospects.... Socialism cannot maintain the aura of historical progressiveness merely because it is called socialism, but it can maintain it if it constantly strengthens the social position of the workingman, if it satisfies his social, living and cultural interests more and more successfully, and if it expands the dimensions of its freedom and democracy more and more in society in general. This, I would say, is the first condition of political stability and progressiveness of our society.'

"Now when we are faced again by certain internal and foreign political difficulties and problems and endeavor to overcome them, we must primarily be guided by one of Comrade Kardelj's basic realizations, which in any case generalizes the overall experience of our socialist development: The realization that the problems on the road of building socialism can be solved successfully and that the political and economic stability of socialist society can be achieved only through further consistent revolutionary development of socialism and through those bold theoretical and practical innovations which such development assumes.

"Thus socialism is not a society at rest, a stage of compromise and evolution, nor an edifice of stone which has merely to be defended or strewn with flowers of praise. Kardelj's following words, registered during a conversation with a delegation of Mostar University almost immediately before his death, indicate that:

"'In the present world, including in our country, there exist beliefs according to which socialist society has achieved the peak of its development and no longer develops, as if no different interests were existing in it and were not conflicting with each other. The problem is that such a society would, so to speak, lose its dialectical driving force if these dialectical contradictions, which indeed stimulate it to constant improvement, did not exist.... What is essential for us is the awareness that we are developing along a revolutionary road, with revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary means, that we are struggling so that socialism may advance, so to speak, step by step, and not that we merely praise apologetically what has been achieved and permit in this way such occurrences as bureaucracy, technocracy and the like to take root in the very organism of our socialist society....'

"Kardelj's message is clear: A consistent revolutionary development of socialist self-management and bold theoretical and practical undertaking on this road are the basic condition to successfully solve the difficulties and problems of socialist building and to ensure the political and economic stability of our society.

"Self-management, of course, is no Yugoslav patent. The idea was born with the first germs of the revolutionary workers consciousness and organized workers movement. However, our socialist practice and theory and especially Edvard Kardelj's theoretical thinking not only contributed to reaffirmation of the idea and practice of self-management, which for a time were pushed aside in the workers movement, but also for the first time in history designed and implemented in practice self-management as a complete process and system of organization of a socialist society. Therein lies Comrade Kardelj's great historical merit.

"The idea of self-management has assumed such proportions, has made such conquests and been expressed in the most multifarious forms that Kardelj was right to point out 'that self-management is becoming one of the laws of the development of socialism as a world sociohistorical process.' The experience of 31 years in building self-management in our country has undoubtedly confirmed the value and strength of our authentic and original socioeconomic and political system of socialist construction. Tito's 1950 statement in the People's Assembly that the slogan 'Factories to the Workers, Land to the Peasants' "represents an entire program of socialist relations in production,' has been once again confirmed. Following Tito's ideas and applying our self-managing experience, Edvard Kardelj demonstrated by the strategic concept of association of labor that the entire organization of a socialist society can be built on freely associated labor. He conceived the basic organization of associated labor as the basic cell of freely associated labor. considering a free association of labor as a historical process of an increasingly complete and free association of the working people within the framework of our socialist system. It is in that cell that the process originates which embraces all spheres and all levels of social organization and develops as the socialist self-managing system. That is the essential new historical element of our revolution and the most significant theoretical innovation of Kardelj's thinking.

"Kardelj also made a special theoretical contribution by working out the problems of the socialist self-managing political system. He theoretically stated the historical necessity of constituting and developing the socialist self-managing political system in the form of delegations of producers, by virtue of which that system in fact ceases to be a classical political system.

"An especially great credit is also due to Edvard Kardelj because, taking into consideration our and the world's historical experience, he theoretically demonstrated that under such conditions the self-managing relations can be democratically developed only if they are built on the pluralism of self-managing interests of all subjective factors of a socialist society. Naturally what is involved in this connection is not only a free manifestation and effect of the pluralism of self-managing interests, but also a constant process of coordinating and harmonizing them at all levels of the society's organization.

"The subjective socialist forces occupy a very important place in Edvard Kardelj's Theoretical Work. The League of Communists, Kardelj emphasizes, must develop a capability of 'the greatest farsightedness' and a capability of 'pointing out the ways of development that are objectively historically inevitable...and it must develop that capability both in the sphere of theory and ideology and in the sphere of social practice, that is, in the sphere of practical implementation of that theory and ideology.' The League of Communists is especially expected to contribute to developing the theory, Marxist thinking and science in general. After all, it is only by advancing Marxist theoretical and scientific creativity that the League of Communists will be able to more successfully overcome occurrences of stagnation, vestiges of dogmatism, various subjectivist constructions and pragmatism in social and political work. But, Kardelj warns, the problem of practical association of science and practice has not been as yet completely solved in our country and we still face great tasks in this respect.

"Precisely this, our meeting, is a part of the League of Communists' efforts to stimulate the spirit of research to new actions, to encourage scientific thinking for bolder undertakings and to stimulate a creative confrontation of theoretical knowledge and findings.

"The action by the Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management to annually organize theoretical discussions under the common theme 'The Thought and Revolutionary Work of Edvard Kardelj' merits in this respect the special attention of our entire society.

"The founding of this center alone has established a new scientific nucleus and a rich confluence of theoretical and practical knowledge about self-management. And as a result of the fact that the center has permanently based its entire activity on Edvard Kardelj's ideas, as a result of the fact that Edvard Kardelj's entire archival legacy has been placed at its disposal by a recent decree of the SFRY Presidency, it has become possible for these public forums to grow into a rich spawning ground of scientific thinking and historical experience, into a source of our further creative contribution to developing Marxism and a scene of practical assertion of socialist thinking in Yugoslavia and the world, which all characterizes the theoretical and political work of Edvard Kardelj.

"As we know Comrade Kardelj's creative work is very rich. It covers all the essential issues of the development of socialism in our country and of its development as a world process as well as the essential issues of developing the nonaligned movement and policy. For that reason we also anticipate that the discussions held within the framework of this center will be very diverse and, we hope, also fruitful to the same extent. The fact that this year, when we also mark the 71st anniversary of Edvard Kardelj's birth, the discussion is devoted to self-management--as a way of liberating labor--undoubtedly must remind us that Edvard Kardelj is the most prominent Yugoslav theoretician of socialist self-management and one of the most prominent creative workers in this field in the entire history of Marxism....

"When we speak about the current moment of our socialist self-management society we must also take into account the contemporary world with all its contradictions. The current moment is perhaps that of the deepest global crisis of the contemporary world since the end of World War II. It is not only a case of the economic crisis which undoubtedly forms the basis for all events. It is also a question of a characteristic and universal exploitation, manipulation and ruling of peoples and nations.

"In capitalist countries the illusion is increasingly disappearing that the parliamentary system and a state of well-being in themselves ensure democracy and a constant growth in the forces of production. The economic and political difficulties with which individual socialist countries are also confronted in a very sharp form only confirm that statism cannot successfully solve the economic, social-class and political problems of the continued development of socialism, and can even less open up the prospect of perfecting the socialist system in the direction of freeing and pooling labor. Hence, in both systems, although in different forms, the working class is searching for ways for more direct participation in the process of decision making in production and in society. [Belgrade TANJUN Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 26 January at 0706 GMT adds the following passage: "In the world in which there are insufficiently developed countries, searches go on for solutions which would at the very beginning place barriers against the possible state domination of social relations in the essential role of the state."]

"It is no longer the case that self-management is an alternative only in revolutions and crisis situations, but it is an objective possibility with its own historical foundation. At the same time, however, there is the question of why there is the need to search for a reply, and of why it happens that in crisis situations in individual countries self-management--after expansion--loses force and retreats before the state and its all-powerful role in the phase of relative stabilization. All this demonstrates the very complex and contradictory conditions of the current world in which the idea and practice of self-management and of various forms of participation are penetrating. It is obvious that these contradictions are not resolved in the same way, that is, in the sense of an existence of only one alternative. Self-management is undoubtedly one of the objective tendencies in the contemporary world, but it is still more in historical potential than historical reality. The forces which oppose the affirmation of the global process of emancipation in strengthening the role of the working class in society, despite the deep crisis in which they find themselves, still strongly defend their positions on the historical scene.

"Since our society is open, it is affected by these contradictions in both a positive and a negative sense. By strengthening self-management in our country we are undoubtedly reducing the room for our domestic statism to feed on external impulses. It is undoubtedly a very complex task, but our successes up to now in this direction, regardless of occasional delays, convince us that we are on the right path.

"One of the basic strategic tasks which lies before our society is the consistent development of socialist self-management in all its spheres. Building a new socioeconomic base, we have opened up the path to the logic which at a higher level of historical development once again links the workingman with the conditions, resources and fruits of his labor and by means of which the new position of the workingman and new relations between producers are transformed into the main motive force of further progress. A feature of this social being which we are now building not only provides ways of constructing different from those opened up by administrative and technocratic management of production, but also demands the search for new, original and yet untried methods, stimuli and forms of socioeconomic development. That is why the task which lies before our society is not easy, and the responsibility of the League of Communists is all the greater.

"In fact, in this sphere the League of Communists is now expected to deepen its consideration of the essence of the current stage of our social development. It is also expected to identify the main tendencies in this development and their class relation and to mobilize all relative forces, in itself, the working class and the whole society, in the struggle for the realization of the constitutional concept of associated labor and for new achievements by self-management. In this specifically historic task of the League of Communists and all socialist forces of our society, great significance is attached to science and its critical, deepened and Marxist research of our reality, and the main exponents and support of all actions can only be the working class and all working people.

"This past year--as the many years before it, and the results which we are now achieving in the realisation of the economic stabilization policy, which are encouraging--have confirmed the maturity of our working class and its strong, self-managing, democratic consciousness.

"Moreover, increased demands from the ranks of the working class and all production environments have called for the elimination of remaining or newly-arisen statist-bureaucratic, group-ownership, technomanagerial and all other kinds of barriers and restraints to self-management, and for pooling labor and resources and producers themselves as a class to leave still limited frameworks and to expand into all pores of our society. So the objective social and material position and interests of the working class was, this time too, a precise indicator of the source of resistance to the realistically possible development of self-management and the forces of production of society on the basis of associated labor. It is evident that resistance is being offered by those social forces interested in maintaining their own decisive position in the disposal of the surplus of labor and in trying to keep the working class in a hired relationship, in fact on the basis of the monopoly of economic, and therefore political, power.

"Of course, part of the reason why self-management achievements are still not at the level of the real possibilities of our society also lies in the insufficient development of our material base, in existing differences in the degree of development of the republics and provinces and in the unevenness of the economic and broader social position of individual parts of our working class. Our economic development, as is well known, faces such major and deep difficulties that a turning point in this sphere was not only inevitable, but is also a question of a test of the vitality, strength, political maturity and revolutionary consistency of our society.

"In this respect, in 1980 we achieved certain positive changes in the distribution of the social products in favor of the economy. The country's balance of payments deficit was reduced significantly and for the first time in the past medium-term period investment and budget consumption slowed down, while the accumulative capability of work collectives grew. If, along with that, we also take account of accelerated economic growth which has been realized and the increase in employment, then it can be said that we are already reaping the first fruits of stabilization, although it is still too early to say that we have established an unstoppable trend of economic stabilization and rational economic activity. This year, 1981, in which we need to overcome many difficulties, will be of decisive significance for the definitive ascendancy of the path of stabilization.

"We are still a long way from the qualitative transformation which alone can be the criterion of the success of socioeconomic stabilization. Also, this is a demand which cannot be realized overnight and which we have incorporated into the new 5-year plan. But it is clear that without a meaningful change in production relations, above all in the distribution of the social surplus of labor, in favor of the working class, a more rapid development of the forces of production, a growth in productivity and a scientific and technological revolution on the bases of self-management will not be possible either. The decisive role of associated producers in the process of social reproduction is a condition for the elimination of the sources of statist power, overcoming the sectionalization of the working class and self-management and the breaking down of territorial and poltiical restraints on production and market trends. [The Belgrade TANJUG version adds: "In short, more lasting stabilization of our economies is not even possible without this either."]

"Here, after all, we have the main causes of disturbances and instability of economic trends and of the insufficiently rapid creaton of the material basis of self-management. That is why the stabilization of the economy, as was particularly emphasized in the conclusions of the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee, cannot be considered independently of the social position of the working class in the process of material reproduction.

"The spontaneous pooling of labor and resources is not possible in the socioeconomic development of socialist society, nor can self-managing relations be reproduced by exclusively economic mechanisms. These contradictions and relations objectively demand a conscientious orientation of social development and organized and thought-out political action by all subjective socialist forces. [The Belgrade TANJUG version adds: "The League of Communists, as the vanguard of the working class and the heart of its socialist conscience, can only win in this struggle to the extent that--in its essence, position, interests and activity of the whole of its membership--it is a part of that class and of all working people rallied on a platform of the historic interests of the working class."]

"That is why the question of the real position of the working class in society, of how its material and all other interests are realized and the degree to which it becomes the subject of political and general social life is particularly significant for the League of Communists. It must not measure the results of its actions in this sphere by formal criteria, growth in membership or number of various kinds of meetings and conclusions, but precisely by means of a real change in the social position and role of the working class, by means of the struggle for its internal unity, which is based on the unity of its basic material, political and other essential interests and its self-managing organization at all social levels. On these conditions, it can act as the real, internal, vanguard force of the working class and be the expression of its historic aspirations and potential. Any other kind of position might easily lead to action on behalf of the class, and in the extreme, to monopoly and power over it.

"The principle of agreement-making, agreement-seeking and dialogue is characteristic of self-managing socialist democracy; naturally, this is always from positions of the long-term interests of the working class. But there we are often confronted with reproaches that agreement-making between the republics and provinces lasts too long and that this slowness harms the country's economic and general development. However, if one rejects those criticisms whose ideological starting point is in the framework of an outdated centralist system, one must nevertheless devote more attention to those criticisms motivated by reasons of strengthening national equality and self-management, for it is certain that there is room for improvement in social agreement-making, at least in two directions: first, in the direction of reducing room for state mediation and the expansion of the area in which associated labor of the republics and provinces will come face to face more directly and incorporate more autonomously both their class and national interest in various actions of social agreement-making; second, in the direction of greater respect for economic laws and the role of the market. This means that we can and must free our agreement-making at the same time both of elements of state mediation and elements of voluntarism.

"But we need also to overcome some one-sided viewpoints which still occur in our theory, and sometime also in practice, as for example, the plan or the market, national economy or the unified Yugoslav market. The market in which the economics of rational economic activity is evaluated is not contrary to socialist society, only that market which chaotically reproduces group-ownership and capital relations is in contradiction with it. Our strategic orientation towards integral self-management cannot be realized through the mediation of state centralism, but by respecting economic laws on the basis of social property and planned economic activity. These two are not only not mutually exclusive, but assume and condition each other.

"The question of the other confusion is similar. Previously one had to ask the question of what was understood by national economy. If by this one means that republics and provinces have the sovereign right to decide on their surplus of labor and on their own development, as well as the general development of the Yugoslav economy, then national economies thus interpreted are the basis of national equality and Yugoslav community and cannot be in contradiction with the unified Yugoslav market. However, if someone understands by national economic isolationism, autarchy, absolutism of a particular interest and so forth--and we do meet such phenomena in practice--then it is more than clear that national economies thus interpreted are not only in contradiction with the unified Yugoslav market but also with their authentic national interests.

"It is worth recalling here that Edvard Kardelj also pointed to the close link between the right of the nation to dispose of its own surplus of labor and the need to constantly strengthen the position of the working class in disposing of the surplus of labor within every republic and province. Therefore, when we meet instances of isolationism and autarchy, we need to ask whether it is not a question of lagging behind in the development of self-management and the superiority of state-political influence over economic laws, for only strengthening the influence of self-managing associated labor in expanded reproduction and the respect of economic laws can together represent an efficient barrier to all aspects of isolationism and economic irrationality.

"Self-management forces which have grown up, and democratic critical conscience--as one of the essential results of the development of self-management--the great cadre, political and ideological potentials of our society and of the League of Communists require a consistent and effective struggle for the implementation of Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility, against all forms of privatization of political functions and positions and a strong development of self-management democracy in which the political influence of working people penetrates all social levels. Decisionmaking which bypasses legally-elected organs in narrow circles and informal groups is not only antidemocratic but is also one of the greatest barriers to social transformation on the basis of associated labor.

"The League of Communists must get to grips with such phenomena constantly and decisively. Such resolve is indicated by everything that has been achieved up to now in our society in the process of revolutionary transformation.

[The Belgrade TANJUG version adds: "Next year we will have the 12th LCY Congress. The period up to the congress must be full of critical analysis of the material and overall transformation of society, the development of self-management and the work of the League of Communists. The role of Marxist science is such an analysis is indispensable. At the congress we need to have not only a clear and comprehensive assessment of the path we have taken, but also a consideration of the conditions and factors of overcoming negative tendencies in our current social development and all the potentials which permit more rapid and more complete action in the realization of the great idea of associated labor, in the conception and elaboration of which Edvard Kardelj had an exceptionally significant role."]

"Edvard Kardelj made an especially significant contribution to conceiving and working out the basic principles of the policy of nonalignment, their theoretical formation and scientific treatment as Yugoslavia's fruitful and successful activity in the nonaligned movement. We also need to recall this now, for this year we are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Belgrade nonaligned conference. This was the first time that the heads of state or government of 25 nonaligned countries from four continents gathered to lay the foundations of a new vision of the world and international relations. The words which were heard on this and the documents which were adopted unanimously not only reflected faithfully the situation then in the world and warned of the dangers threatening it, but also at the same time and in a visionary way recommended solutions to the most significant international problems of which many today, after so many years, are no less topical.

"The time which has passed since then, the events which have taken place and the relations between forces which are now established in the world, demonstrate that the ideas and principles of nonalignment and the just struggle of the nonaligned countries have in no way lost any significance, and are just as necessary, not only to the countries included in this movement, but also to the whole world.

"In practice, the movement today represents, thanks to its mass nature and the mutuality of interests of member countries, an objective force of global dimensions which stands in opposition to bloc competition and the dangers which arise from it. It will represent this in the future also, for as Kardelj's said: 'Until mankind is able to overcome the resistance of the remains of colonialism, imperialism and all forms of hegemonism. it would be unrealistic to expect democratic relations between peoples to be ensured fully or a really effective and satisfactory international mechanism of cooperation and help to be created. The final solution to this problem can only be found in the economic and political unification of the world through internal social processes and forces in all parts of the world, which can only eventually be realized when socialist relations also dominate in economic relations between peoples.'

"Expressing the deepest aspirations of mankind and presenting new ideas and principles, the nonaligned countries have given 'a great contribution to the struggle to free subjugated peoples' in the struggle for their independence, to strengthen resistance to bloc divisions and competition, in the struggle against hegemony under any guise, for new economic and equitable international economic relations, and for the right and opportunity of every people to take equal part with other peoples in solving international problems. Here, in fact, it is a question of changing the existing economic and political order in the world because this order reproduces relations of dependence and underdevelopment in the economic sphere and bloc division in the political sphere, and both lead to a deterioration of international relations with all the possible consequences.

"Therefore today, as Tito said in his speech at the sixth conference of nonaligned countries in Havana, 'It is evident that any weakening of our movement or curbing of its role would inevitably lead to the destabilization of international relations as a whole.'

"The achievement of political independence has stimulated the responsibility of developing countries for their own development and for an improvement in their international political and economic position, and it has created the basis for work by forces which are fighting for economic decolonialization and for the creation of conditions for the speeding up of economic and social progress. Although there is a variety of interests in these countries, as well as differences in their position in the world economy and in socio-economic paths of development, they are united by a joint interest in freedom from various forms of dependence, domination and exploitation and the setting up of equitable and just international economic relations. Thanks to this, the nonaligned countries have managed to maintain their unity in all essential questions of their strategy and tactics, despite attempts to divide them. We believe that this will continue in the future.

"For Yugoslavia the struggle of the nonaligned countries is at the same time 'the struggle against all forms of class and national oppression, exploitation and against subjugation,' as Kardelj says. It is the aspect of the revolutionary process which characterizes our epoch. Hence, the policy of nonalignment remains the lasting basis of Socialist Yugoslavia's international activity, an expression of our socialist orientations and class approach to contemporary problems of international relations and also 'the most consistent expression of our socialist, self-managing and democratic internal policy, especially in the sphere of intranational and interrepublican relations.' That is why the LCY and representatives of the SFRY must at various international meetings at every level fight consistently against all hesitations in any sphere, in the implementation of established nonaligned policy. They must also fight for the consistent realization of its original principles." [The Belgrade TANJUG version adds: "Finally, comrades, permit me to wish you new and valuable results in your creative and theoretical activity and much success in the work of this gathering which is aimed at the consistent teaching of the thought and work of Tito and Kardelj."]

MINIC SPEAKS ON INFORMATION IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

AU022145 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 81 pp 1, 8

[D.P. report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jan--Today's session of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, which was chaired by Milos Minic, was devoted to informing the foreign public about Yugoslavia.

Speaking in the discussion, Milos Minic, president of the council, said that the field of information is the most important field in the entire complex of Yugoslavia's relations with foreign countries, that it serves the consolidation of our country's international policy, the country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality. However, there are still quite a few remnants of colonial and neocolonial relations and deliberations where information is concerned, which is more difficult to remove from awareness than when a change in economic relations is involved.

The international situation is being strained, Minic said, confrontations between blocs are present, a degradation of detente has occurred. Many countries can be affected by such a situation, particularly those having poor links with the world, countries about which little is known.

Yugoslavia enjoys a great reputation, confidence and great sympathy in the world, Minic stressed, but all this was not given forever. The firmness of our society, that is our country's domestic political and economic stability, is of key importance in this respect. Information activity can strengthen our international position. Such activity is really a huge element of our country's security and independence, Minic said.

The truth and a favorable picture of Yugoslavia has penetrated broad circles of a large number of countries but, nonetheless, our internal development is still insufficiently known. For this reason articles about our country are frequently one-sided, with emphasis on our weak points. After Tito's death many eyes were directed at us, Minic said. However, we can say that malicious expectations have declined, as have our friends' fears as to what would happen to Yugoslavia.

Minic also spoke about the distribution of our correspondents abroad and criticized distribution which does not take into account changes in the world. He illustrated it with the example of a great concentration of correspondents in a European center, while an entire continent, Africa, in which we are interested, has fewer of our correspondents than that single center.

Further in his speech Minic advocated greater cooperation with newspapers and journalists from the nonaligned countries and positively appraised the activities of the Institute for Journalism in training journalists from all parts of the world.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA ASSEMBLY HEARS ASSEMBLY REPORT

AU022120 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 81 p 4

[F. Nikocevic and V. Mandic report]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 30 Jan--The agenda of today's joint session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly chambers included draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, current public security issues in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and election of members of the republic council.

Supporting the basic orientations contained in the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed a positive view about this document, which was sent to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

Working People--The Greatest Strength of Security

At today's joint session of all chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mato Andric, secretary for internal affairs, speaking about current problems of public security in the republic, stressed that last year was exceptionally complex from the viewpoint of security and that certain, even well-intentioned analysts in the world were skeptical regarding our strength and capability to successfully overcome all difficulties, while our enemies at home and abroad expected, to put it most mildly, a dramatic situation and hoped for a collapse of self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia. However, instead of that, Andric emphasized, we have continued our stable progress, during which our people and citizens demonstrated a high level of awareness, adherence to the policy of the League of Communists, satisfaction with continuing Tito's course and determination to defend and develop his revolutionary work.

Even the individuals who tried to attack our society from the nationalist, liberalist, dogmatic-bureaucratic and similar positions could not disturb the favorable security situation last year. Their activity was particularly expressed in the second half of last year, when they tried to revive their activity and to create teamwork with like-minded people, including those outside the borders of our country.

No hostile or any other destructive activity, either in Bosnia-Hercegovina or throughout Yugoslavia, could assume a broad scope or an organized character, something that the individual enemies stubbornly attempted to achieve. All their activities remained isolated, without any influence on citizens, particularly on the workers class and young people. In such a situation, Andric noted, there was no need for increased legal sanctions, although determination is present both in the republic and in the country to energetically suppress every activity directed at undermining the order laid down by the Constitution.

However, the danger of terrorist actions by fascist emigres has not ceased yet, and they mustered their forces to begin terrorist activities in our area, although they have not succeeded in it. There are several emigres from our republic who are very extreme. What is involved are several pro-Ustasha and pro-Chetnik elements, who are very well known to us and who, even when they camouflage themselves with a democratic cloak, cannot conceal their real, although well-known face, Andric noted.

The life of our people, their freedom and material well-being represent the highest values which we will successfully protect. Up until now it was demonstrated that the society that is organized on self-managing foundations, a society in which all working people and citizens concern themselves with security and protection is the freest and most secure of all societies.

Speaking about economic crime, Andric stressed that in recent years the number of criminal deeds was constantly decreasing, while the past experiences demonstrated that this kind of crime appears in circles in which self-managing relations did not come sufficiently to life, or more correctly, where individuals were left too much scope for uncontrolled behavior.

Criminal deeds that appear in trade with foreign countries are particularly complex and those deeds are most frequently manifested in the form of concluding damaging contracts, the purchase of unsuitable technology and the like. Although these deeds were not numerous in the past, they are as a rule the consequence of bribery and corruption, while the suppression of the deeds is somewhat difficult because it is difficult to obtain the necessary documents.

On the proposal of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, delegates of all three chambers elected Hajrudin Kapetanovic and Mirko Milojevic as members of the republic council.

CROATIAN MUSLIMS URGED TO RESIST PAN-ISLAMISM

AU032048 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 81 p 12

[N.I. report]

[Summary] Zagreb--The first regular assembly of the Ilmija Association in the Socialist Republic of Croatia was held in Zagreb. The assembly was attended by representatives of the elders of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, presidents of all committees of the Islamic community from the area of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, representatives of other associations of religious priests of Croatia and Prof Ivan Lalic, president of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of the Croatian Executive Council.

Imam Sevko Omerbasic, president of the Ilmija Association in the Socialist Republic of Coatia, assessed the past work of the association and stressed the need for even closer cooperation with the Socialist Alliance, the associations from other republics and with the associations of other confessions.

The assembly adopted an amendment to the association's statute to implement Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility. Imam Sevko Omerbasic was elected first chairman of the association.

"Speaking about the relations with the Islamic community in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Ivan Lalic stressed that the relations had been always exemplary and that in the past, except for some individual cases, there were no problems of a political nature. However, attempts by the Serbian and Croatian nationalists to involve the Muslims in their games have been more noticeable recently, as are attempts to hitch the Islamic religious community in our country to the vehicle of pan-Islamism.

"In this connection, Imam Omerbasic said that the Islamic community in our country must energetically resist all those tendencies and that it will do it most successfully (particularly when pan-Islamism is involved) if the community itself will persistently explain its position and freedoms which the Muslims and the Islamic religious community enjoy in the SFRY."

Certain difficulties encountered by Muslims, such as a shortage of religious space, material difficulties and the like, were also mentioned at the assembly, and credit was given to the social community for the past assistance, particularly when the allocation of a plot for the construction of a mosque in Zagreb was involved.

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS PROTEST AT BEING FIRED

LD021525 Paris LE MONDE in French 1-2 Feb 81 p 3

["P.Y." dispatch: "Yugoslavia: Seven Philosophy Teachers Protest Against Silencing of Criticism"]

[Text] Belgrade--The seven teachers dismissed from Belgrade University's philosophy faculty have just sent an "open letter" to a number of newspapers and scientific establishments and to the government of the Republic of Serbia protesting against the "arbitrary and anticonstitutional" measure to which they have been subjected. They assert that following their "suspension" in 1975, after which they have been drawing only 60 percent of the pay to which they were entitled, they have not stopped work in drafting philosophical works, none of which has been published, however.

They reject the allegations made against them at meetings of party and Socialist Alliance Organizations, namely that they are "ultraleftists," "anarcholiberals" or "collaborators with foreign enemies" of Yugoslavia. They point out that their petition to the country's leaders in this connection and their complaints lodged with the courts have not been followed up. But though they are now "thrown onto the streets," they still defend their ideas, "since intellectuals are not people who threaten society's real interests with their criticisms; but the officials do want to silence these criticisms through the use of force."

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH PORTUGAL--Lisbon, 29 Jan (TANJUG)--The data on Yugoslav-Portuguese economic cooperation show that Yugoslav-Portuguese trade has more than doubled during the first 10 months of last year compared with the whole of 1979. The total trade during this period reached the value of $12.1 million--Yugoslavia's exports to Portugal totaling $6.1 million and imports from Portugal $6 million. The trade between the two countries for the whole of 1980 is estimated at $15 million. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 29 Jan 81 LD]

MISSING MERCHANT SHIP--Rijeka, 10 Jan (TANJUG)--The Jugolinija Shipping Line of Rijeka today issued a statement officially proclaiming its ship "Dunav," with a crew of 32 members, as missing. The "Dunav," with a carrying capacity of 25,259 tons, disappeared in a storm in the Pacific some 630 nautical miles southeast of the Japanese port of Yokohama. The last contact with the ship was established on 27 December at 2230 GMT. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 81 p 1 AU]